A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

A. R. MACEWEN

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THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BY

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TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

THIS volume records the history of the Church in Scotland from its beginnings to the stage marked by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton on the eve of the Reformation. With regard to a considerable part of the ground covered, the indulgence due to pioneer work may reasonably be claimed. During the past fifty years so much light has been cast on the Celtic period by scholarly research, and upon the Medieval period by the publication of documents, that the history of the Church in these periods has been written with little assistance from existing Church Histories. Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* was published in 1861; Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland* appeared in 1859, and the second edition, issued in 1882, was in the main a reproduction of the first. All students will acknowledge that narratives written at those dates require to be rewritten, and that estimates which then seemed adequate must be reconsidered. The compensation for such work lies in the hope that some events and changes which half a century ago were obscure and almost unintelligible may be brought for the reader, as they have been for the writer, within the region of clear history. The need of presenting facts now ascertained with sufficient detail makes it impossible to discuss fully topics of which some readers may expect special treatment — topics such as Church architecture, Church music and Canon law.

In Scotland Church life and national life have been so closely connected that reference must frequently be made to Political Histories. In this volume the narrative in Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* has as a rule been followed, but many references will be found to the longer *Histories* of Hill Burton and Lang.

For the convenience of readers who are out of reach of large libraries references are given, in the quotation of charters and chronicles, to Sir A. Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters* and *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, and to Mr. A. O. Anderson's *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, except where it is important to consult the charters and chronicles in their own setting. Bishop Dowden's volumes, *The Bishops of Scotland* and *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, are so minutely careful that they also are quoted, with two or three exceptions, as unquestionable sources. For the years 1198 to 1447 large use has been made of the nine volumes of *Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, published (1893-1909) under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and quoted in this volume as *C.P.R.* For events in the history of the Church in England, references are usually given to the *History of the English Church* (eight vols., 1899-1910), edited by Stephens and Hunt. Other authorities and sources are sufficiently designated in the footnotes; so many authorities have had to be consulted for a limited number of data that a bibliography would be both cumbrous and misleading.

The author owes a very heavy debt for invaluable help given by Dr. David Patrick and the Rev. Dr. D. W. Forrest, who have read this volume in manuscript. He is also much indebted to Mr. David Baird Smith, LL.B., for suggestions made in reading the proof sheets and to the Rev. D. M. W. Laird, M.A., for assistance in verifying references.

A. R. M.

EDINBURGH, *September* 25, 1913.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN (OCCUPATION) PERIOD

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SCOTLAND, the present Scotland, was not the home of one nationality or race until the seventh or eighth century. When in the earlier centuries we read of 'Scots' and things 'Scottish,' the words usually designate the Scotic inhabitants of Ireland. No doubt they are sometimes applied to Scoto-Irishmen settled in North Britain, but proof is always required to show that this is the meaning. The nursery and school of the Scotic race was in Ireland, not in Britain.

The expression 'Scottish Church' (*Ecclesia Scot(t)icana*) first occurs in a chronicle referring to 878.[1] Until then there was nothing institutionally or organically national in the Christianity of North Britain. Yet before that time Christianity had identified itself with the fortunes of the infant nation, and embodied itself in a Church entitled to a separate history. The identification with national life has proved permanent and has secured continuity, spite of the elimination of the Celtic elements in the eleventh century, of Romanism in the sixteenth, and of what may be called without invidiousness English Episcopacy at the close of the seventeenth. 'Ecclesia Scoticana' has been a *res*—vital and vitalizing, progressive and national. In fact, Scotland has had no history apart from the history of the Scottish Church.

From the beginnings of the nation the distinctive character of its Church was manifest. By the eighth century 'Scoticus mos,' a term which covered Scotic usage on both sides of the Irish Channel, was stigmatized and condemned by the Church officials of South Britain and the Continent. The story of the origin and early development of the 'Ecclesia Scoticana' will show that it stood apart from Catholic Christianity—not deliberately nor even consciously separatist, yet separate, isolated and in its isolation embodying and perpetuating the Christianity of a nation.

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[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 151.

At the Christian era the north of Britain, like the rest of the island, was inhabited by numerous tribes which had no political unity and few social interrelations. These tribes belonged to different races. Of the aborigines, who were not Aryan and may have been akin to the Basques, little can be learnt except that they found shelter from storm and strife in underground houses and lake dwellings, and their religious beliefs and customs are almost unknown. They had been partly absorbed, partly driven into the farthest north, by migratory Celts, who came to Britain from the south-east of Europe at times which cannot be dated although they are historic. The Celtic migration had been in two waves, separated probably by several centuries: the Goydels, or Goidels, or Gaels, and the Cymri, or Britons. Of these the latter, who were the more civilized, drove the former northwards, but not steadily nor through settled animosity. Gaels and Britons belonged to the same race.

For the history of Christianity it is important to note that Goydels had also found a home in Ireland. There was some differentiation between Irish and British Goydels owing to a difference in the aborigines of the two islands. Whether they spoke the same language or not is an unsettled question. If their language was radically the same, it had diverged dialectically, so that they conversed with difficulty. There were also, as we shall see, divergences of temperament and of religion, but these did not go deep and were not insuperable.

The North Britons, it must be repeated, did not constitute a nation. Besides the difference between Goydels and Cymri, they were separated as tribes or clans under different kings or chiefs. Fourteen tribes are known by name, and the number must have been very much larger. It was only under pressure from invaders, or when some scheme for pillage in the south took shape, that they recognized common interests.

As to their religion our information is exceedingly bare. They have left no trace of temple-worship nor even of altar-worship, and indeed it is unlikely that they had any fixed religious organization. Each tribe had at least one augur or medicine-man, known as the druid of the tribe. According to Rhys, Reinach and other high authorities, druidism was a pre-Celtic institution taken over from the aborigines by their Celtic conquerors.[1] The druids,[2] who claimed to mediate between man and the Invisible, took auguries from the flight of birds, from the stars and from the clouds, and prescribed ceremonies and sacrifices by which the divine help might be secured. Using yew branches as their divining-rods, they professed power not only to foretell events but to bring rain and fire, occupying a position midway between that of the Egyptian magi and that of the Hebrew prophets. In some respects they were prophets rather than magi, for they were the confidential advisers of the chiefs, giving counsel not only as to hunting and fishing expeditions but as to wars and alliances. Yet the moral function which was inherent in Hebrew prophecy was lacking.[3] It is not clear what positive beliefs lay behind this office. Reverence was paid to the deities of rivers, wells and fountains. The mists and clouds were recognized as being under the control of gods, whose action might be foretold and influenced by druidical skill. There was something of sun-worship, and sacrifice was offered on the eve of battles. It is not warrant-able, however, to assume the prevalence of the beliefs and usages which prevailed in other countries which had 'druids.' The picturesque and sentimental cultus of fairies (*sidhe*) which imparts true poetry to early Irish legend must be ascribed to aboriginal elements in Irish civilization, for there is no trace of it in North Britain before the advent of Irish settlers. Nor is there much evidence of the savagery and grossness which Roman writers depict in the 'druidism' of northern Europe. Except the above vague outlines, and some stray details which will emerge in later chapters, nothing is known of the religion or religions which preceded Christianity.

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[1] 'The Celts found it . . . the common religion of the aboriginal inhabitants from the Baltic to Gibraltar.'—Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 72. The evidence for this highly probable theory is mainly taken from South Britain and Ireland. Far less is known about the druidism of Caledonia.

[2] The word 'druid' implies no connection with 'oaks'; it is derived from *dar-vid*, 'very wise'; see Arnold's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*. Rhys, in accordance with his view of druidism, holds that the word is pre-Celtic.

[3] Strabo, it is true (*Geog.*, iv. 4, 4), distinguishes 'bards,' or minstrels, and 'vates,' who were occupied with sacred rites and 'physiology,' from 'druids,' who studied nature *and ethics*, and were arbiters in military and judicial affairs.

The Roman occupation of Britain, lasting from the first expedition of Julius Cæsar in 55 B.C. to the withdrawal of the Roman forces by Honorius in 410 A.D., had a definite if mainly negative influence upon the religion of the whole island, and account must be given of its special bearings upon the religion of the north.

The permanent results of Cæsar's two expeditions were comparatively slight, and for a hundred years thereafter the spread of Roman civilization was mainly in the south of Britain. The Province of Claudius, as marked off in 50 A.D., included no part of modern Scotland. Yet the Romans not only struck at Anglesey, the seat of British druidism, but defeated the Brigantes, a tribe which held the modern borderland as far north as the Forth. In 78 A.D. Agricola was appointed Legatus, and within three years extended the sway of Roman civilization to Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland, and pressed his forces right into the heart of 'Caledonia,' the name given by the Romans to the district beyond Northumbria. Raising a new frontier line between the Clyde and the Forth, he pushed north into Forfarshire, where he defeated the natives in the battle of Mons Graupius or Grampius,[1] and also raised fortifications in 'that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland.' His victories, however, had no lasting consequence, and when, in 120, Hadrian's Wall was built from the Tyne to the Solway, the whole district north of that line was thereby marked off as non-Roman, for the primary purpose of the wall system which the emperors developed in the second century was to 'divide the Roman world from barbarism.'

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[1] Haverfield says 'about 122-4.'—*Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 368.

About twenty years later[1] a second wall, the Wall of Antonine, was erected from the Forth to the Clyde, by Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Excavations at present in process show that it was skilfully constructed, and was maintained and defended by large forces of settlers. Remains of Roman camps, dating from 145 to 170, have been found at Ardoch in Perthshire, at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, and elsewhere. But these give no sure proof that the district between the two Walls was effectively subdued or that the natives were affected by Roman influences.[2] The religion which the soldiers and settlers brought with them was certainly not Christian. They were not legionaries in the strict sense, but auxiliaries recruited from parts of Europe still wholly pagan. At Bar Hill, for example, where about a thousand settlers lived for thirty or forty years, an altar was erected to Antoninus Pius by a cohort of auxiliaries from South Germany, and in recently discovered inscriptions at Auchendavy no fewer than ten heathen deities are mentioned, including Jupiter, Mars, the Celtic Epona and the Genius of the Land of Britain. The idea that Christian legionaries preached the gospel to the wild Caledonians has not even the vague historicity of the contemporary tale of the Thundering Legion. There is not the faintest reason for thinking that any of the settlers were Christians, and their settlement was brief. Before the end of the second century the Romans abandoned all their forts in Caledonia and fell back upon the line of the Tyne and the Solway.

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[1] George Macdonald in his *Dalrymple Lectures* gives the date as 142.

[2] Pausanias alleges that the Romans took land from the Brigantes, the most powerful people in Britain, because they had attacked a 'friendly tribe,' the Genunians. Rhys suggests that the friendly tribe had its home in Galloway. If so, the friendly relations brought no civilization. Later pages will show that the Galwegians were for many centuries the most barbarous of North Britons. The localization of the Maeatae, who lived 'next the Caledonians on the south,' is conjectural.

In fact, the ruin of the Empire had by this time set in, and in Britain, as throughout the world, barbarians pressed across the frontier. The irruptions were checked for a time by Septimius Severus, who gained some victories in Caledonia, rebuilt the Wall of Hadrian[1] and pushed north as far as the Moray Firth. But after his death in 211 there followed more than half a century of disintegration, which was abated though not checked when the usurper Carausius (287-93) became master of Britain. Constantius Chlorus, who arrived in 296 as the defender of Roman rule, engaged repeatedly in battle with the North Britons. It is in the narrative of his engagements that the much debated term 'Picts'[2] first occurs. 'Constantius fought,' we read, 'against Caledonians and other Picts.' It is to be noted for our purpose that the camp in which Constantius died (in 306) was on the south side of the Wall of Hadrian, and that north of that Wall the Romans had at that date established no important centre.

The next northward move of consequence was in 367-8, when Theodosius was despatched to beat back attacks made upon the Province by 'Scots, Picts and Attacotti.' Here the word 'Scoti' first comes to light, being the designation of Irish marauders who attacked the Province from the north-west. The Attacotti, or Atecotti, were a tribe of the modern borderland noted for their savagery; about this very time some of them, engaged as mercenaries in Gaul, startled St. Jerome by their unabashed cannibalism. Theodosius was successful in his campaigns. In 369 he re-established the Wall of Antonine, and erected the district between the two Walls into a new Province under the title Valentia.[3]

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[1] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 89 ff.) argues, not convincingly, that the wall which Severus rebuilt must have been that of Antonine.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi.; Eumenius, c. vii. The writer accepts Zimmer's view that Pict was the Roman translation of the name given to the Celticized aborigines by British and Irish Celts.—*Die Romanischen Literaturen und Sprachen*, 1910; Lang, *History of Scotland*, i. 11 ff. Rait (*The Making of Scotland*, p. 2) thinks that 'the mysterious Picts were perhaps of the same family as the Goidels, or may have been so widely different as not to be even Aryan in origin.'

[3] According to Haverfield, the district entitled Valentia cannot now be identified.—*Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 378.

It was, however, a brief-lived Province. The Roman troops were withdrawn in 388, and inevitably the inroads from the north were renewed. Twice, in 396 and in 406, Stilicho sent or took some help to the provincials in the south, but in 407 Britain was abandoned by the Romans, and finally, in 410, when Rome fell before Alaric, Honorius wrote to the British towns that they must provide for their own safety.

It is with the religious bearing of these political and military movements that we are concerned, and here there was an absolute difference between south and north. South Britain, being to some extent under Roman control, was open to continental influences. If the soldiers did not bring the gospel, they opened the way for it as one of the forces of civilization. There is no trace, indeed, of missionary pioneers. The legends which tell how a native British king in the middle of the second century requested a bishop of Rome to make him a Christian[1] are as groundless as those which ascribe British missions to Simon the Zealot and Joseph of Arimathea, to St. Peter and St. Paul. Christianity arrived, in Professor Haverfield's language, 'through natural expansion rather than through conscious missionary effort.'[2] Yet before the end of the second century it had gained a foothold. Tertullian, writing in 201 or 208, records that 'districts of the Britanni which the Romans have not reached have yielded to the true Christ,'[3] and Origen in 230 makes a similar boast.[4] Through Gallic traders or other followers of the legions, a considerable number of Britons had been converted before the middle of the third century, and the number steadily increased. It is possible that one of the converts (St. Alban) suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, although the conspicuous lenity with which Constantius

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[1] Lucius is the name given to the king both by Bede and by Nennius: the bishop is named Eleuther by Bede and Euaristus by Nennius. The story, which has not even a show of veracity, was according to Haverfield inserted into the *Liber Pontificalis* about 700. Harnack identifies Lucius with Abgar of Edessa.

[2] *English Historical Review*, No. xliii.

[3] *Adversus Judæos*, c. 7: 'Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita.' When Tertullian wrote, many parts of South Britain were 'inaccessa Romanis.' Harnack regards Tertullian's words as 'of no consequence.'—*Expansion of Christianity*, 1st ed. ii. 410.

[4] Origen, *in Ezek.*, Hom. iv.; *in Luc.*, Hom. vi.; *in Matt.*, Hom. xxviii.

Chlorus administered the Imperial edicts makes this improbable.[1] In any case, immediately after the conversion of Constantine an organized British Church comes to light sharing in the interests of continental Christianity. At the Council of Arles in 314 it was represented by three bishops, a priest and a deacon, one of the bishops coming, it should be noted, from York. There is no record of Britons having attended the Council of Nice, but in 359 a considerable number of British bishops were present at the Council of Rimini.[2] In the Arian and semi-Arian controversies they sided with orthodoxy, Athanasius twice referring to them as adherents of the Catholic faith.[3] Before the end of the fourth century, when certain dissensions arose among the British Christians, a bishop of the Gallic Church was invited to assist in restoring peace. Various other tokens of Church development appeared. British pilgrims made their way to Jerome's monastery at Bethlehem, and from the west of Britain another pilgrim, Pelagius, journeyed to Rome to become the originator of a great heresy. Pelagius was no heretic when he left his home in Wales.[4] It was in Rome that his errors took shape, and his definitely Christian culture and character, which Augustine attests, can have been formed only in Christian surroundings.[5] Indeed Christianity had gained so firm a hold of southern and western Britain that it held its ground for a considerable time after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, maintaining connexion with the rest of Christendom. The doctrine of Pelagius, which in 418 was declared heretical both by the Emperor and by the

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[1] For a scrutiny of the evidence see Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain*, ch. v. Harnack holds that the martyrdom 'cannot be pronounced authentic.'—*Expansion*, ii. 410.

[2] Sulpicius Severus records that three of the British bishops incurred reproach by their poverty. His language implies that it was otherwise with the majority of their countrymen present.—*Historia Sacra*, ii. 41.

[3] Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos* (347-51); *Hist. Arian.*, c. 28 (about 356).

[4] It is uncertain whether Faustus, the semi-Pelagian, who became abbot of Lérins about 432 and afterwards bishop of Riez, was born in Britain or in Brittany.

[5] Jerome describes Pelagius as 'bloated with the porridge of the Scots.' As his most skilful and virile supporter was an Irish Scot, it may fairly be inferred that he himself was one of the many Scots who in the fourth century passed from Ireland to the west coast of Britain. Augustine, Orosius and Prosper call him a 'Briton.'

Bishop of Rome, made its way to Britain through the teaching of a certain Agricola, and found so much favour that the bishops of northern Gaul took alarm, and the alarm spread to Rome. One of the Roman deacons, Palladius, whose name will recur in a later chapter,[1] enlisted the interest of his bishop[2] Celestine, and in 429 two bishops, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, were despatched with papal authority to recall the British Church to orthodoxy.[3] The mission, which began with a conference and culminated in a battle, was for the time successful. The deputies, having convinced an assemblage of Britons that their Pelagian teachers, 'splendidly robed men famous for their wealth,' were culpable heretics, led the docile crowd against an army of Saxons and Picts and triumphed in the Alleluia Victory, so called from the shoutings with which the Christians terrified their pagan foes. Eighteen years later another visit in the interests of sound doctrine was paid by bishops of the Gallic Church at the request of the Britons.[4] It was not till 449, the year of the first Teutonic invasion, that Britain was detached from continental Christianity, and even then the British Church retained some important connexions with the district of Gaul now known as Brittany. Later developments must not be allowed to conceal the fact that in the first half of the fifth century the Britons were by profession Christians,[5] and that their Church had gained some organic independence and some institutional strength. Yet in the main their Christianity was a phase of the continental civilization which the Roman occupation had imparted.

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[1] Caspari (*Abhandlungen*, p. 385) thinks that Palladius was a Briton.

[2] At this date the title Pope (papa) was not reserved for the bishops of Rome. Towards the close of the sixth century bishops of Nantes and Tours are addressed as 'popes,' and as late as 680 the patriarch of Alexandria is officially described as 'pope of Alexandria.'—Mansi, *Concilia*, xi. 214; Migne, *Patrol.*, lxxxviii. 115, 119.

[3] There is some indistinctness about the proceedings. According to Constantius (*Vita Germani*, i. 19) the Britons appealed to the Gallic bishops, who met in council (*synodus numerosa*) and despatched delegates. Prosper ascribes the intervention to the Bishop of Rome, saying that he sent Germanus as his substitute (*vice sua*).

[4] Germanus was again one of the delegates; the other was Severus of Trèves.—Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 18.

[5] Bund argues that the deputies of 448 came to deal with a relapse into paganism.—*Celtic Church in Wales*, p. 109. Recent Anglican historians have disparaged the early British Church, ascribing to it qualities of later growth.

The contrast presented by North Britain is in this matter emphatic and intelligible. Beyond the Wall of Hadrian the Roman occupation had been irregular, occasional and all but exclusively hostile. There had been no diffusion of culture. No trace of a Roman 'town' other than a military station or camp has been found more than fifteen miles north from York. The forts and encampments of the soldiers left, we have seen, some traces of their worship—Latin, Greek, Spanish and Mithraic—and on the banks of the river Almond there are some signs of a blend with native religion. But of Christian beliefs and worship before the end of the fourth century not a vestige has been discovered. Where the belt of paganism was drawn it is impossible to say with precision. In 359 there was a Christian bishopric at York. The important settlement at Corbridge, close to Newcastle, which was abandoned about 385, has left several memorials of the oriental paganism of the settlers, none of their Christianity except a disputably Christian monogram on a silver cup.[1] It is probably within the mark to say that at that date the gospel had not passed beyond the Tyne or the Mersey.

There is, indeed, a legend shaped by Fordun that in 203 'Donald king of Scots and his subjects were converted through the agency of Pope Victor I'; but, apart from the fact that there were no Scots in North Britain in the third century, the legend abounds in anachronisms, and was manifestly invented by the chronicler as a counter-claim to the similar legend about the early conversion of South Britain. Equally worthless are the tales of the miraculous voyage of Regulus (St. Rule), a Greek pioneer of the faith, who in the fourth century brought the gospel and some relics of St. Andrew to the coast of Fife. It was not till the eighth century that the cult of St. Andrew gained a place in North

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[1] This is a striking fact, seeing that for sixty years the Roman Empire had been nominally Christian; the explanation is that the soldiers and settlers were not of the Latin race. See Haverfield in *English Historical Review*, xii. 420.

Britain, and the tales took shape from a tradition that the Picts had certain affinities to those Scythian tribes to which St. Andrew preached. History has nothing to tell of the Christianity of 'Caledonia.' While even pagan culture made no way north of the Wall of Antonine, the civilization imparted to the district between the two Walls was fragmentary and precarious. The periods of the Roman occupation when that district was most thoroughly mastered were prior to the conversion of Constantine. In the fourth century the relations of the Romans to the inhabitants of 'Valentia' were exclusively hostile. The most that we can surmise is that here and there a native chief or trader, when bargaining in the camp, may have heard the name of Jesus Christ and held it in repugnance. Christianity, so far as it was the religion first of individuals and thereafter of the Empire, was the religion of the foes of the North Britons.

It is noteworthy that, north of the Wall of Hadrian, the Church and her converting influences first come to light at the time when the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain. In the early development of Scotland Rome had no direct function to discharge. Her imperialism disappeared, leaving the land in barbarism. But before the disappearance was complete a light was kindled on a lonely promontory of the Galloway coast. With Bede's brief account of St. Ninian and his work at Whithorn we pass from the domain of legend, surmise and inference into valid Church history. These are Bede's words:

> 'The southern Picts a long time, as men tell, before (*i.e.* before 563), having abandoned the errors of idolatry, had accepted the true faith under the preaching of Nynia, a most devout bishop and a most holy man of the race of the Britons, who had been accurately instructed at Rome in the true faith and mysteries. His episcopal seat, distinguished by the name of St. Martin the bishop and by a church, in which his own body rests beside several saints, is now (734 A.D.) in the hands of the Angles. That place, belonging to the province of the Bernicii, is commonly called 'By the White Hut' (*Ad candidam casam*), owing to the fact that he built the church there of stone, a custom unfamiliar to the Britons.'[1]

This record has been greatly amplified by medieval mythologists, the most important of whom is Ailred, a Cistercian monk who was brought up at the Court of David I and became abbot of Rievaulx in 1143. Ailred was a prolific author and a formulator of legends in the spirit of his time, when the Romanizing of Christianity was advancing by rapid strides and the appetite for extravagant fables was insatiable. Although professing to use an earlier document, he shows no acquaintance with the conditions of the fifth century. He represents Ninian as ordaining presbyters, consecrating bishops and building churches after eleventh-century methods, and credits him with adventures which other mythologists attach to the names of other saints. His narrative conveys little impression of a distinct personality, and its main worth is that, since the writer had himself been a missionary in Galloway, it may be supposed to indicate traditions which lingered there seven centuries after Ninian's death.[1] The following facts may be accepted as historical.

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 4.

Ninian (Nynia, Ringan, Trinyon, *Irish* Monenn) was born, before the middle of the fourth century, of that British race which, as we have seen, was to some extent Christianized during the Roman occupation. After the sojourn at Rome to which Bede refers in the above-quoted passage, he visited St. Martin of Tours, the illustrious pioneer of Gallic monachism, and imbibed his ideas. Thereafter he made his way as a missionary from southern to northern Cumbria, and finally chose as his mission-centre the sheltered peninsula of Galloway, where he was within reach both of the Christianity of his native province and of the Christianity of Ireland. That peninsula lay apart from Cumbria and Strathclyde,[2] with a racial character of its own. Its inhabitants had affinities with the tribes which lay north of the Wall of Antonine as well as with some Irish tribes.[3] It was among them—Picts living in the south, not 'Southern

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[1] Dowden, while thinking that some of Ailred's statements are 'not improbable,' characterizes his narrative generally as the 'deliberate concoctions of a dull romancer.'—*The Celtic Church*, pp. 27, 63. The *Life* has been edited by Forbes in the Historians of Scotland series.

[2] On Strathclyde and Cumbria see below.

[3] They are usually termed the Niduarian Picts—a designation given to them by Bede (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xi.). The river Nith, from which the word is derived, bounded Galloway on the east.

Picts' in the later sense—that Ninian's work lay. When the building of his little stone church at Whithorn was in process, he heard of the death of his beloved master, St. Martin, in 397 or 402, and resolved to consecrate the church to his memory. His mission, like all missionary enterprises in the west, had an industrial and agricultural side. We read of the marvellous leeks which he taught the monks to grow, of his securing protection for the herds of the settlement by drawing mystic circles and of his achievements in boat-building and navigation. The heathen to whom he preached were marauders whose piracies were a terror on both sides of the Irish Channel, but they proved open to persuasion, and, if not definitely converted, came to regard the gospel with some deference as a mark of southern civilization, the dread of Roman invasion being by this time past.[1] The positive success of his efforts, which are said to have lasted till 432, may be estimated from the fact that sixty-six sacred buildings are known to have been dedicated to him in Scotland, many of them on the north-east coast,[2] and that his name was held in reverence by the early Christians of Northumberland and Westmorland as well as in Ireland.

It is true that such proof is not conclusive, for dedications to a saint prove nothing but the spread of his fame.[3] But archæology steps in to guarantee the reality and importance of Ninian's mission. At Whithorn (anciently written Whithern, Hwitern, Quhitterne and Quhytorne) there are no relics which can safely be dated before Norman times. Yet Ninian's Cave, the traditional scene of his devotions, bears the impress of a cross, and in the same district sculptured stones of a classical type are marked with the name of St. Peter.[4] At Kirkmadrine in the adjacent county of Wigtown the evidence of Roman Christianity is indisputable. 'Nowhere in Great Britain,' writes Dean Stanley,[1] 'is there a Christian record so ancient as the grey, weather-beaten column which now serves as the gatepost of the deserted churchyard on the bleak hill in the centre of the Rinns of Galloway.' On a flat slab, about five feet high and eighteen inches broad, there is incised the monogram of the cross of Constantine, with alpha and omega above it and the following inscription below:

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[1] The same character and attitude may be ascribed to them as to the followers of Coroticus. See page 19.

[2] For the dedications to St. Ninian on the north-east coast see Note A.

[3] No doubt in the Celtic Church prior to the seventh century churches were usually named after their actual founders; but none of those which bear St. Ninian's name can be shown to have existed so early. The fact that in the twelfth century Ailred found a cemetery dedicated to him at Glasgow does not make it even probable that he ever was there.

[4] Anderson, *Scotland in early Christian Times*, 2nd series, p. 252.

> 'Here lie the holy and leading priests (*praecipui sacerdotes*)[2] . . . Viventius and Mavorius.'

The date of the inscription cannot be later than the beginning of the sixth century, and the probability is that it is of the second half of the fifth, *i.e.* within a generation or two of the death of Ninian.[3] The symbols are those of Roman not of Celtic Christianity. The inscription also is Roman, not in language only but in wording, and the designation *praecipui sacerdotes* must, as Bishop Dowden has shown,[4] be interpreted as a designation of bishops — two or perhaps three bishops buried beneath the stone. It by no means follows that Viventius and Mavorius were of Roman birth. Neither of the names is Roman, and the latter especially has the semblance of a Romanized British name. Yet if that be so the inscription is the more impressive. It exhibits Roman Christianity acclimatized and operative in this remote region which the Roman armies, so far as is known, never touched. It confirms the statement of Bede that the natives of the region welcomed and accepted the teaching of a pioneer who had been 'accurately instructed at Rome in the true faith and mysteries.'

The fact that the founder of this adventurous outpost of the Church had been instructed at Rome is full of meaning, when viewed in relation to the condition of Roman Christianity. If the residence of St. Ninian at Rome was prior to 384, he had witnessed the licence and worldliness of the Roman clergy, who writhed under the lash of Jerome, and the eager furtherance of extravagant ceremonialism by Bishop Damasus. If his residence was later, he was in Rome when Bishop Siricius issued his decretals against the incontinency and apostasy of 'the religious,' and in either event he must have known how, in the case of Priscillian, Christian swords were for the first time stained with the blood of reputed Christian heretics. He was thus one of those who, at the time of the deterioration of the Church and the collapse of the Empire of Rome, saw in the darkness of heathendom a field for a hopeful ministry. It might seem as if there were here a demonstration of the external continuity of the kingdom of God, and even a proof that it was through the influence if not through the authority of Rome that the western world was converted. Yet such ideas and inferences have no ground-work in the story of the early Scottish Church. The connexion of St. Ninian with Rome failed to give permanence to his mission. The light which he kindled soon faded away.

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[1] *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, p. 25.

[2] The blank space on the stone may have originally held the name of another 'sacerdos.'

[3] Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, p. 36.

[4] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland* for 1898, p. 247 ff.

NOTE A. Page 13.

Missions of St. Ninian in the north-east.

The Rev. J. Mackay in the *Chalmers Lectures* for 1913 mentions the following dedications to Ninian from Arbroath to Shetland, viz. Arbroath, St. Vigeans, Stonehaven, Pitmedden, Methlick, Rathven, Bellie (Fochabers), Culbin (Dyke), Nairn, Glen Urquhart, Balconie (?), Nonakil (Rosskeen), Fortrose (?), Navidale (Sutherland), Wick Head, South and North Ronaldshay in Orkney, Ninian's Isle in Shetland. This list, which is a revision of an avowedly incomplete list given by Bishop Forbes (*St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, xiii.-xvii.), corresponds closely with one given by the Rev. A. B. Scott in the *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. iii. At several of these places Ninian's name is linked with traditions of St. Drostan and St. Erchard. There is a legend that these three were the first missionaries in the valley of the Ness. Yet there is no real proof that Christianity reached the Ness in the fifth century. The sites of the dedications, according to Mr. Mackay, indicate a systematic mission, being at strategic points within easy access of each other. At the same time the mission cannot safely be ascribed to Ninian. It may have been carried on by some missionary or band of missionaries who revered his name. Of the date of the dedications nothing is known.

CHAPTER II

FROM NINIAN TO COLUMBA

432-563

Teutonic invasions—Christianity crushed in East Britain—Maintained in West Britain—The Christians of Strathclyde—Their failure—St. Kentigern and his mission—Its disappearance—Immigrants from Ireland—Some of their saints—The movement repelled by the Picts.

DURING this period there was no political or racial division of Britain into two kingdoms, north and south. Neither 'England' nor 'Scotland' existed, and in the movements which preceded the formation of both kingdoms almost the whole of Britain was concerned. Since these movements influenced the history of the Church throughout the island, some of their features must be indicated.

The dominant fact to which all special events must be related was the advent of Teutonic forces—Jutes, Saxons, and finally Angles.[1] In some cases they came as allies by invitation, in some cases as cautious and amicable settlers, in some cases as determined marauders; but in every case they came to stay, to prevail and ultimately to rule.

They were wholly pagan and, although the motive of their expeditions was not at all religious, they were enemies of Christianity. Where they conquered, the British Church disappeared, either being obliterated or withdrawing into the still unconquered west. Where it survived, it lost character and tone, being involved in the fierce struggle of races. We shall have to speak repeatedly of the British Church. At present it is enough to note that wherever the Anglo-Saxons went it was overthrown, and that the Anglo-Saxon conquest meant the re-establishment of paganism.

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[1] Bede gives 449 as the date of the arrival of the Saxons. According to Skene, Bede is mistaken. He dates their arrival at 374 and holds that they were masters of Britain in 441.

Accordingly East Britain became decisively pagan at a comparatively early stage in the invasions. Quite within the period dealt with in this chapter, the invaders were masters from Salisbury to Berwick.[1] Their settlements were not limited by the Tweed. As early as the time of Hengest and Horsa, Jutes made a home in Pictland, and it is possible that some of King Arthur's battles with the Saxons were fought on soil now Scottish. More important, however, than the extreme north and south were the strength and the consolidation of Anglian power in the central east—the region extending from the Humber to the Forth known at a later date as Northumbria. That region comprised two kingdoms or principalities, Deira ruled from York and Bernicia ruled from Bamburgh. Although for a time rivals, they steadily tended to become one. Both were thoroughly Teutonized. About this part of Britain at least we may accept the statement which Freeman applies more widely, that 'at the end of the sixth century the Celtic inhabitants had been as nearly extirpated as a nation can be.'[2] The extirpation of the Celts carried with it the extirpation of the British Church. The religious future of the fertile district of the Lothians was determined by the fact that by the beginning of the sixth century it had become part of the kingdom of Northumbria.

Entirely different were the fortunes of the Church in the west. Wales was never conquered by the Saxons and afforded a home to 'British Christianity,' which, if degenerate, proved itself to be by no means decrepit. Apart from Wales,[3] the west as a whole did not fall before the invaders with the same suddenness or completeness as the east. Northwards especially, the Britons held out against them pertinaciously for about two centuries, although they were harassed by other pagan foes, Scots from Ireland and

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[1] They gained five or six important victories between 456 and 490.

[2] *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, i. 18.

[3] The Welsh Church, which had at least four bishoprics and twelve monastic foundations, had no influence upon Scottish Church history, although there was passing contact in the career of St. Mungo.

Picts from Caledonia, who seem frequently to have joined hands. The very northmost range of this district, extending from the Derwent to the Clyde, and eventually known as Strathclyde,[1] retained a Celtic character with some irregular unity. It comprised most of the modern Cumberland, which did 'not become English till the close of the seventh century and even then was very loosely joined to Northumbria.'[2] The settlement of races in Strathclyde was specially indistinct, including Britons who were partly Christianized and Picts who were mainly pagan. Besides this contrast, there was blended with the native civilization a mongrel, half-foreign element, the residue of the Roman occupation. This element is difficult to explain in its relations to native life, but it is certainly historical both in itself and in its influence.

The hybrid inhabitants of Strathclyde, with whose religion we shall be occupied for the remainder of this chapter, had little of the vigour of their neighbours, the Northumbrians, and their religion was devoid of force and grace.[3] Their life was 'tinged with Christianity,' but the tinge was a faint one with slight ethical or evangelizing worth. The one locality in which its influence was definite and important lay really outside Strathclyde—the Galloway district referred to in last chapter. St. Ninian's settlement at Whithorn continued to exercise an educative and civilizing influence for some time after his death. Its reputation spread to Ireland, where it was known as *magnum monasterium*, or Rosnat, and was esteemed as the home of North British Christianity; yet its actual influence was shortlived; Professor Hume Brown doubts if it 'existed as a monastic school a century after its founder's death.'[4] In any case, there was a relapse of the

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[1] The name 'Strathclyde,' although not in use till the eighth or ninth century, is the earliest territorial designation. The name 'Cumbria' does not occur before the eleventh century. Skene, quoted in Forbes, *Life of St. Kentigern*, p. 330.

[2] Hodgkin, *Political History of England to* 1066, p. 108; cf. Rait, *Making of Scotland*, p. 4.

[3] That these were the 'Bretons' whom Arthur led against a nephew of Hengest has been maintained by Skene, Stuart Glennie, etc.; but the theory is inconsistent with all that is known of them.

[4] *History of Scotland*, i. 9.

Picts whom Ninian had converted. They 'apostatized,' retaining indeed a savage pride in the title Christian but abandoning almost all Christian restraint. In an undoubtedly genuine document dating between 420 and 450,[1] we have a vivid picture of their apostasy under a king Coroticus (Ceretic), whose capital was Alcluid, or Dumbarton.[2] Coroticus was the leader of a band of 'soldiers,' who plumed themselves upon being 'Romans,' although their life was wild and lawless. They were free-booters and made occasional raids upon the coasts of Christian Ireland, carrying off girls into vile slavery. As their allies they had 'Scots and apostate Picts'—a statement noteworthy as the first record of Scotic inhabitants of North Britain. These Scots, it seems, had never been Christians,[3] whereas the Picts, St. Ninian's Picts no doubt, were renegades. Yet among the followers of Coroticus there was some recognition of the Christian standard. They had an assembly or court, to which the injured Irish Christians turned, calling the tribe to hold no fellowship with their marauding king until he 'liberate the baptized handmaids of Christ and make amends by doing sore penance before God.' The outcome of the appeal is unknown, but the fragment of narrative graphically discloses the state of Strathclyde—races combined but not united, Christianity professed but not operative, Roman civilization claimed by half-savage free-booters. Such was the life of the western mainland in the century that followed the mission of St. Ninian.

No other record of the century has been preserved, nor is there any token of the progress of the mission. When the next Christian personality emerges, in the middle of the sixth century, Church and land were practically unchanged. Kentigern ('Chief Lord'), who was known familiarly as Munghu or Mungo ('dear and lovable man'), belonged[4] to the British race and was born about 518 of the daughter of a king. His life, like his birth, has been recorded in highly coloured legends of the twelfth century; but behind the legends history can easily be detected. After an adventurous youth, he made his home on the banks of the Molendinar stream, a tributary of the Clyde, and founded a religious community on the site of the modern city of Glasgow.[1] His adherents, while acknowledging him as master, lived in separate huts and maintained themselves by agriculture and rearing flocks. In legendary phrase, they yoked wolves to their ploughs and turned the Clyde waters into 'richest milk.' In the heaviest rainfall, no drop fell on Kentigern. When seed failed, he scattered sand on the ground with prayer and the sand brought forth abundantly. He wrought also with 'the ploughshare of the gospel' and reclaimed an innumerable company, reviving the Church which had been 'almost destroyed by the northern enemy' and also winning fresh converts. His moral standard was not too rigid. In fact, he sheltered one unfaithful lady from the vengeance of her royal husband. But his bold championship of the poor, whom he styled the 'support and patrons of the rich,' gave offence at Court. He was charged with the use of magical arts and, although he cleared himself of the charge, he had ultimately[2] to flee for his life.

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[1] *Epistola Patricii.*

[2] According to Bury, 'the old view' that Coroticus was a Welshman of Cardigan need scarcely be mentioned.

[3] Zimmer's argument, that the Scots must have been Christians since they are not charged with apostasy, is, as Bury says, 'extraordinarily perverse.'—*Celtic Church*, p. 55; cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 192, 315.

[4] The fables of his birth, which are unpleasant reading, seek to link his paternity with the missions of St. Paldy and St. Serf.

He naturally turned to Wales, where the British Church had royal protection and patronage.[3] From Dewi (St. David), afterwards patron-saint of Wales, he received a cordial welcome, and the Welsh king gave him a dwelling-place, where he founded a monastery and school (Llanelwy), one of his scholars being St. Asaph. His scholars were eager missionaries, whose missions left traces not only in North Wales but along the course of the Derwent. He is said to have journeyed to Rome and received there papal consecration,[1] qualifying him for the work that lay before him in the north.

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[1] The original name was 'Cathures.' The name 'Glaschu' given by Kentigern probably means 'dear church' or 'dear family.'

[2] Williams (*Christianity in Early Britain*, p. 393) thinks that the date of his flight must have been 'before 544': the data are uncertain.

[3] It may be, as some historians have alleged, that in the sixth century 'Cambria' extended to the Clyde, but in Wales Kentigern was an exile.

During his exile turmoil arose on the banks of the Clyde. Guerilla warfare between Britons and Picts culminated in 573 in a decisive battle, the battle of Ardderyth or Arthuret. The issue at stake was probably racial, but it had religious bearings. The victor Rhydderach (Rederic), king of Strathclyde, was supported by a Christian party,[2] and after the battle he recalled Kentigern. The saint returned deliberately and with distinction. Passing through Dumfriesshire he paused for a while, making the Hill of Hoddom a centre of persuasive evangelism. When he reached Glasgow, he was recognized as the real master of the rising community, and besides bringing over the local tribes to Christianity despatched missions in all directions. He passed away at a fabulous age (187), dying in a hot-water bath which he had sanctified with the sign of the cross. His admiring scholars lifted his body out of the bath and 'one by one slipped into the water before it cooled, entering into the mansions of heaven with their holy bishop.'

This quaint legend represents an historical truth. With Kentigern his pupils and scholars disappeared. His northward missions had less permanence than his missions in Wales and Dumfriesshire. On the banks of the Clyde his fame alone survived. A fully consecrated bishop he may have been, but he had no successors. The see of Glasgow disappeared for four centuries. It is barely possible that a certain 'bishop of Britain, by race a Scot,' who appeared at Rome in 721, held office in Strathclyde,[3] but there is no ground for connecting him with Glasgow. The history of that see began in 1051, and it was only in 1120, when Earl David instituted an 'enquiry,' in order to secure a background of tradition for the new foundation, that Kentigern was represented as having been one of the effective forces in the Christianizing of Scotland. His actual career, so far as it can be ascertained, exhibits the feebleness of the British Church in Strathclyde, its poor morality, its wavering doctrine and its dependence upon the patronage of half-heathen chiefs.[1] And yet, without any stretch of fancy, he may be adduced in proof of the continuity of the Church, for there is no reason for questioning the traditions that he was consecrated by a Scotic bishop from Ireland, and that before he died he received a friendly visit from the real founder of the Scottish Church.

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[1] According to his biographer, Kentigern had been consecrated irregularly—by a single bishop—and transmitted his office in Wales to St. Asaph with a similar irregularity.

[2] Rederic is said to have learned the Christian faith in Ireland.

[3] Forbes, *Life of St. Kentigern*, xcii. The bishop, Sedulius, was an Irishman (*Scotus*). Haddan and Stubbs (II. i. 7) think that he 'might well be Bishop of Glasgow or Strathclyde,' because (1) he had as his companion a Pict who was bishop of 'Scotia'; (2) his work lay in Britain, but not in Cornwall or Wales. They give no proof of the continuance of a Glasgow bishopric.

Half a century before the supposed date of Kentigern's birth, stray bands of settlers from Ireland had landed on the coast of Kintyre and found a precarious home at certain points of Pictland and Strathclyde.[2] They came from the north-east corner of Ireland and were known as 'Dalriads' from the district of Dalriada, which formed the northern half of County Antrim. It was not till the sixth century that they were designated Scoti or Scotti.[3] By race they were Goydelic Celts, strangers to the North Britons but of kindred stock. Although it was probably an ordinary tribal migration due to economic causes, it had some religious influence, for the Dalriads had accepted Christianity and they brought their religion with them. The principal migration was between 498 and 503. With that date tradition connects the names of two pious women, St. Bridget and St. Monenna. St. Bridget, or St. Bride,[4] who probably lived till 525, was in later generations held in honour in many parts of the west highlands of Scotland and is believed to have had influence as far north as the island of Mull, her cult being identified with that of the Celtic goddess Brigit; and St. Monenna's name has legendary ties to St. Ninian's settlement at Whithorn, while she is said to have made her way right across Britain. Several sites which afterwards gained Christian sanctity, such as Abernethy and St. Fillans, seem to have been reached by the migration at a still earlier date, but not with any Christianizing force. So far as the legends of it take shape in narratives, they are void of historical foundation. The most romantic figure which emerges is probably the most historical—St. Brendan of Clonfert, whose seven years' ocean voyage in quest of the land of promise has secured a place in poetry. After returning from his quest, Brendan visited St. Gildas and then turned his barque northwards, reaching the Argyllshire coast about 540. He is credited with having founded there two island settlements, the one on Tiree, the other on 'Aileach,' near Easdale. His visit, however, was brief and its results were merged in the achievements of the greater crusade that followed. A good many ruins of oratories and hermitages in Mull, Kintyre, Knapdale and Lorne may date from the beginning of the sixth century. Yet at the most they prove that the migration was a general one and that the settlers were Christians. One venturer, St. Barr or Finnbarr, is said to have reached Dornoch and other sites in Caithness, but the legend is a very doubtful one: St. Bar may perhaps be a tenth-century saint.[1] Similarly Servanus (St. Serf), who is fabled to have made his way to Culross on the shores of the Forth in the fifth century, is undoubtedly a real personality, but he belongs to the eighth century at the very earliest, and was transferred to the fifth century by chroniclers for controversial purposes.

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[1] There is unlimited exaggeration in Sir H. Maxwell's assertion that St. Mungo became bishop over the whole of a 'compact little kingdom' and completed the conversion of Scotland to Christianity.—*Chronicles relating to Scotland*, pp. 56 ff. See Note B on the St. Kentigern Legends.

[2] Haverfield speaks of the Celtic migration as setting in 'at the opening of the fifth century.'—*Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 60. 'Fergus Mor,' its principal leader, died at the end of that century or in 501.—Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 139.

[3] By Isidore of Seville in 580.—*Isid. Hisp.*, xiv. 6; cf. page 6.

[4] On St. Bridget and the Celtic Brigit see Note C and page 147.

Associated with the name of Servanus there is a name which claims fuller notice through its connexion with events to be narrated in a later chapter, St. Pallad, 'Paldy of the Mearns.' It is a well-authenticated fact that in 431 a bishop of Rome despatched a certain Palladius to 'the Scots who believed in Christ' as their first bishop, that he was unsuccessful in his mission and that it was closed within a year. Fordun, writing in the fourteenth century, describes this Palladius as a missionary to North Britain; but that is a sheer blunder due to Fordun's belief that Scotland has always been called Scotland. The mission of Palladius was to the Scots in Ireland. Professor Bury holds it probable that his work was cut short by death in the Irish Dalriada;[1] but wherever he died there is no evidence whatever that he made his way to North Britain, except the word Paldy and the legends that have gathered round that word.[2] It has been suggested that his bones were taken across the Irish Channel and deposited at the Mearns by one of his disciples, St. Ternan;[3] but Ternan is a saint whose existence is attested only by two or three place-names and by the credulous and inventive Fordun. The very most that can be affirmed is that there may once have been 'a missionary named Palladius who laboured for the spread of Christianity in Scotland.' How he laboured and when he laboured, is entirely unknown.

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[1] It is impossible to extract history from the legends of the Irish saints of this period. St. Barr is said to have ridden across the channel from Wales to Ireland on a horse lent him by St. David, and in crossing to have encountered St. Brendan on his whale. Scottish hagiology laid hold of him and made him a native of Caithness, ascribing to him adventures so 'Caledonian' that the Bollandists conclude that there must have been two St. Barrs. Mr. C. Plummer in his *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* exhibits with great detail how legends were varied and combined at the fancy of the legend-monger.

Two or three other names might be quoted from legends, but none of them would represent any historic reality. Prior to 563 the Irish settlements had a very indistinct religious character. No doubt in a sense the settlers were pioneers of Christianity, but it cannot be said that their pioneer work was effective. On the contrary, they aroused antagonism to the Christian religion; they came as foreigners and their intrusion was resented. The Dalriads, who settled on the coast of Kintyre and the adjacent islands, were divided into four rival tribes, and seem to have differed little in culture or religion from the neighbour tribes of Strathclyde;

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[1] *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 55.

[2] In 1876 Pope Leo XIII endorsed Fordun's mistake; but Abbot Sir D. O. Hunter-Blair explains that the Pope intended only to repeat, not to sanction, the legend.—Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, i. 24.

[3] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 26-31.

[4] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, i. 29; Dowden, *Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 41.

but their encroachment on the mainland was specially obnoxious to the Picts, and after half a century of casual encounters the chief or king of the northern Picts, Brude, inflicted a heavy defeat upon them and drove them back into Kintyre. This, it should be noted, was within a few years of the date at which Kentigern was exiled from the banks of the Clyde by his pagan opponents. There is no reason indeed for identifying these two movements, the tribes involved being probably distinct; but they may be considered together as indications of the frail and perilous condition of North British Christianity in the middle of the sixth century. In itself it had neither vitality nor hopefulness and was no more than the concomitant of an unsuccessful resistance to the virile barbarities of paganism. As yet there was neither a Scottish Church nor a Scottish nation in Britain. No doubt it was clear—at least it seems clear to the modern historian—where hope lay. The only survival of the efforts of St. Ninian lay in the relations between Whithorn and Ireland, and the very legends which record seven visits of St. Kentigern to Rome recognize, as we have seen, that he received his first commission from an Irish bishop. Yet Irish Christianity as a system had failed to lay hold of Caledonia. It fulfilled its missionary function only when it was transplanted and transformed by the deliberate effort of a man of Christian genius. It has not been by historical concurrences, still less by racial movements, that Christianity has spread, but by the personal intention and enterprise of consecrated men. The nationality and the Christianity of Scotland were first shaped by Columba.

NOTE B. PAGE 22.

Legends of St. Kentigern.

The *Vita Kentigerni* (or *Kentegerni*) dates from the close of the twelfth century. It was written at the order of Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow from 1175 onwards, who championed against York the independence of the see of Glasgow and, besides building a cathedral, was instrumental in erecting the town of Glasgow into a burgh. His aim was to secure a tradition for the see and he employed a Furness monk, also named Jocelyn, who had rendered similar service to other bishops by composing hagiologies and who turned to the task with professional zeal. Founding his narrative upon (1) a *Life* already in use in the diocese which contained 'something contrary to sound doctrine and the catholic faith,' (2) another small treatise composed *Scotico stilo* and 'tainted with heretical passages,' (3) a visit which he paid to Glasgow, he omitted everything that savoured of heresy according to the standard of his own time, 'removed the vile rags and clothed the treasure in clean linen,' recast his material and 'seasoned it with Roman salt.' In particular, he set himself to connect his story with the current legends of St. Ninian, St. Serf and St. Columba, so as to exhibit the greatness of St. Kentigern. He describes Columba, for instance, as eager to see the face of so famous a saint and making a pilgrimage to consult him in the company of a great troop of followers, and tells how one of the lawless islesmen, who took to sheep-stealing, was detected by a miracle and then absolved by Kentigern. He credits Kentigern with extensive church-building, with systematic organization of his diocese, with reform of the marriage laws and, above all, with a close official relation to the see of St. Peter as the privileged Chaplain and Vicar of the Pope. His ignorance of the course of history is glaring. He dates the Pelagian before the Arian heresy; about the mission of St. Austin he knows nothing; and he represents Kentigern as preaching the gospel in Norway and Iceland. He ascribes eleventh-century controversies to the sixth century with a frequency which invalidates his whole narrative. Thus he asserts that the Bishop of Glasgow 'was subject to no other bishop,' debates the validity of consecration by a single bishop, and represents Kentigern as rebuking his clergy for simony—an offence for which there was no room in ancient Strathclyde. The most significant of his anachronisms is his account of the Culdees. Writing at a time when the Culdee usages were under scrutiny, he, as it were, apologizes for them by connecting them with Kentigern—a connexion wholly at variance with history. Many of the episodes which he narrates have the vulgar coarseness of twelfth-century hagiology. The early British Church, with all its irregularity, was neither vulgar nor coarse. In the text we have gone as far as fairness will warrant in admitting the existence of an historical element in the narrative, erring perhaps on the side of credulity. In the *Lives* of St. Columba, St. Dewi and St. Asaph, St. Kentigern is not once mentioned. Boece tells that Kentigern was converted at Inverness by the preaching of Columba, thus inverting Jocelyn's estimate of their comparative dignity.

The facts presented by Forbes in the Introduction to his *Life of St. Kentigern* are supplemented by Primrose in *Medieval Glasgow*

See also Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain*, p. 304 f. The *Life* upon which Jocelyn based his narrative was written by an unknown author at the instance of Herbert, bishop of Glasgow 1147-64.—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, lxxviii.-lxxxvi.

NOTE C. Page 22.

St. Bridget (*Bride*) *and Brigitta* (*Brigit*).

St. Bridget's life (453(?)-525) has been fully presented in Christian legend. She was born near Dundalk, being the illegitimate child of a bard of Tara. Her mother, who was one of the bard's slaves, was banished, like Hagar, to appease the jealousy of the lawful wife and became handmaid to a druid. The child Bridget grew up in exile into gracious womanhood and returned to her father's house, where she was at first welcomed but soon became obnoxious through her reckless liberality to the poor. So intense was her hatred of marriage that she prayed for deformity, whereupon one of her eyes swelled and burst. Ultimately she took vows of virginity and founded the monastery of Kildare, which 'enclosed' both monks and nuns. Over the monks she placed a hermit upon whom she bestowed episcopal consecration. She was famed for her industry and energy and made Kildare a celebrated school of learning as well as of handicraft. So she initiated a type of monastic life which for a time exhibited the strength of Irish piety but ultimately degenerated. She lived on intimate terms with St. Patrick and prepared his winding-sheet. She is said to have foretold Columba's birth.

The authenticity of those Irish legends need not be examined; but when we consider her mission to Scotland, we are faced by hard facts. In the Celtic area traversed by Columba her shrines appear as substitutes for the shrines of the goddess Brigit, the leading female figure of Celtic mythology. Brigit was the Minerva of the Celts, patroness of industry and arts, especially of poetry, and her holy places became the sanctuaries of 'St. Mary of the Gael,' who ultimately was identified with St. Bridget. This transformation cannot reasonably be ascribed to the missionary zeal of one saint. It was a gradual process of a kind with which students of mythology are familiar. By a similar process St. Bridget found a place in the Church Calendar. One of the four Celtic festivals which was sacred to Bridget became 'St. Bride's Day' or Candlemas, and to it many pagan rites were transferred. It would be 'difficult to measure the extent to which the heathen goddess made the fortunes of the saint.'—Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, p. 75.

The extensive mission of St. Bridget to western Scotland is authenticated only by such shrines and such worship, with some local legends which are entirely pagan in their tone. In the Hebrides, for example, on St. Bride's Day (Candlemas-eve) a sheaf of oats was until quite modern times dressed in female attire and placed in a basket called 'Briid's bed' with shoutings, 'Briid is welcome,' intended as a prayer for a good harvest. These are relics not of Christian missions but of pre-Christian Celticism. If the achievements of St. Bride in Scotland become unsubstantial when scrutinized, our regret is abated by the clearance of her reputation, for the Scottish Brigitta-shrines were for centuries scenes of puerile superstition. The process by which such transitions or transferences were made will be discussed in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER III

THE SCOTIC CHURCH IN IRELAND

First Christians in Ireland—St. Patrick's early life—His mission in Ireland—His evangelism illustrated—Contests with druids—Planting of churches—The Patrick of Church legend—Scotic Church becomes monastic — Culture of its monasteries — Its foreign missions — Columbanus—Twelve Apostles of Erin—Place of Scotic missions in history.

THE feeble and fragmentary Christianity of North Britain had, as we have seen, several connexions with Ireland prior to 563. In that year there arrived from Ireland a vigorous and vitalizing mission which laid the foundations of the Scottish nationality and the Scottish Church. The Christianity which converted, civilized and indeed created Scotland, was cradled and matured in Ireland. In this chapter, therefore, we retrace our steps, to show the origin and character of the Scotic Church in Ireland, so far as these affected the Christianizing of North Britain.

The druidism of early Ireland had picturesque and chivalrous elements not apparent in British druidism, and it gave place to Christianity after a resistance which had a romance of its own. Ireland being unconquered by Rome, the conversion was not in any sense due to imperial forces. It probably began in the third century, when there were predatory relations between the 'two Britains,' although it may be that Gallic traders, who had frequent dealings with Ireland, were the first missionaries. The conversion was gradual. In 350 we find an Irishman holding a bishopric at Toul, and before the end of the fourth century Irish Christianity gave birth to a very vivacious and forceful heretic, Coelestius, the henchman of Pelagius; but Ireland itself had no bishop. The mission was informal and unorganized until the fifth century had well begun. Reference has already[1] been made to the facts that in 431 a bishop of Rome ordained a certain Palladius to be 'first bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ,' and that the mission of Palladius was brief and ineffective.[2] The glory of having organized the Christianity of Ireland lies not with him but with a missionary saint who was almost his contemporary—Patricius, known in Church legend as Chief Apostle of the Scots, Abbot, Archbishop and First Primate of all Ireland. It is natural that attempts have been made to identify Patricius with Palladius,[3] for there is something perplexing in the proximity of the two missionary campaigns, and the authorities which describe the one make no reference to the other. Both personalities, however, are attested as historical: Palladius by a chronicler who wrote in 433, and Patricius by his own writings. There is nothing wonderful in the coincidence that a bishop was sent from Rome to Ireland within a few years of the arrival of a missionary from Britain. Indeed it indicates that about that date the cause of Christianity in Ireland attracted attention.[4] Besides, St. Patrick—*the* Patricius whose writings have survived, and who alone is entitled to a place in history—had adventures and qualities wholly inconsistent with the idea that he was an accredited representative of the Bishop of Rome.

He was born, not earlier than 386 and not later than 389, at Bannaven Taberniae, a half-Roman, half-British settlement situated either at Daventry in Northants or in Glamorganshire.[5] His father held both civil and ecclesiastical offices (decurio and deacon) and his grandfather was a presbyter,[1] celibacy being not even theoretically recognized as incumbent upon clerics. His early surroundings were mainly though not wholly Christian, and the townsmen plumed themselves upon their culture; but his attainments were slight. He 'resisted the priests,' and indeed fell into a sin so outrageous that, when in later years it was made public by a treacherous comrade, it was held to be a disqualification for Christian service. At the age of sixteen he was taken captive by Irish marauders and employed by his captors as a herd in the mountains of north-west Connaught. His nature was sensitive and devout, and in his solitary bondage, which lasted for six years, Christian truth reached and mastered his conscience. Encouraged and guided by dreams, he fled to the coast and persuaded a crew of traders to take him on board their ship, although he nearly lost his passage by refusing to take part in their idolatries. After three days' sail, the company landed on the coast of Gaul and wandered for weeks amidst many perils, in which Patrick's prayers brought succour. He found a home for a while on the Mediterranean coast, probably at the monastery of Lérins,[2] where he acquired a crude acquaintance with Latin and a reverence for Gallic piety. Presently he moved northwards and sojourned in the episcopal town of Auxerre (*Autissiodorum*) on the banks of the Yonne, which held a high position among the settlements of the Gallic Church through the character of its bishops and their zeal for orthodoxy. It was not there, however, that he conceived his life-plan. After some years—it is impossible to be more definite—he made his way to his birth-place and, while residing there with his kinsfolk, heard in a dream the cry of the Irish calling to him as with one voice: 'We beseech thee, holy youth, to come hither and walk among us.' Yet difficulties arose. He was uneducated and ill-fitted otherwise, it was thought, for so great a mission. Ultimately, when the spring of his youth was past, he was ordained as deacon, presbyter and bishop. His own statement suggests that he received office in the land of his boyhood.[1] It was conferred in face of opposition, and his missionary career, which began in 431 or 432, was regarded throughout its course with suspicion and jealousy in Britain.

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[1] See page 24. The words are: 'Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus espiscopus mittitur.'—Prosper, *Chron.*, ad an. 431.

[2] Zimmer shows that a statement made by Prosper in his *Contra Collatorem*, that by this mission the Pope 'made a barbarian island Christian,' is incredible. —*Celtic Church*, p. 33.

[3] Zimmer's theory has been confuted by Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*. In the seventh century it was alleged that Patrick applied for consecration when he heard of the death of Palladius.

[4] Probably Palladius is the man who, when a deacon, induced the same pope to send a deputy to rescue Britain from Pelagianism. See page 9.

[5] His birthplace is discussed fully by Bury, p. 322. The tradition which locates it on the high ground between Dumbarton and Glasgow is untenable in view of Patrick's description of his early surroundings, which cannot have existed in any part of Strathclyde at that time. Sir John Rhys has pointed out that three places in Glamorgan bear the name of 'Banwen.'

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[1] At a period of his life when his 'orders' were questioned, he refers boastfully to these facts.

[2] Patrick's residence at Lérins is no more than a probability. In a *Dictum Patricii*, which Bury regards as genuine, Patrick speaks of his having visited an 'island in the Tyrrhenian Sea,' and a seventh-century memoir names the island as 'Aralanensis,' but this may designate not Lérins but Arelate. Lérins, the modern 'St. Honorat,' was an important centre both of monasticism and of theology. That its specific influences affected the Scotic Church through Patrick has not been proved.

His work in Ireland was largely that of an evangelist. He visited 'multi populi' and preached 'ubi nemo ultra erat.' His evangelism was attended by great personal danger. Once he was robbed and bound in chains; constantly he had to reckon with imprisonment or even assassination; he had to hire guides to show him the way and act as escorts, and to secure safe conduct from chiefs by money payments. He was upheld by hopeful and fervent piety. A Pauline consciousness of communion with God sustained him in his depressed moods and enabled him to repel the attacks of Satan. His belief in providence was unwavering and in his dreams he was united with Christ.[2] Although he claimed no such miraculous powers as Church tradition ascribes to him, he was an eager and humble believer in special providences and in the power of intercessory prayer. So strongly did he assert the mystic virtue of baptism that he was charged with being a 'worshipper of water.'

Yet his evangelism was essentially spiritual. With a remarkably minute knowledge of the Bible he possessed a gift of artless and pathetic eloquence. The familiar story that he persuaded the Irish to believe in the Trinity by

[1] *Confessio*, 23, 26, 32. In a seventh-century *Life of Patrick*, by Muirchu, he is said to have been consecrated, when on a journey, by a 'bishop Amatho rex.' The *Tripartite Life* turns the bishop into 'King of the Romans'; finally he became 'the Emperor Theodosius.' Bury's hypothesis that Patrick was ordained at Auxerre by Bishop Amator and consecrated by Bishop Germanus rests on slender evidence.—*Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 336 ff., 347 ff.

[2] 'Vidi in me Ipsum orantem.'—*Confessio*, 25. The same tone is heard in the 'Lorica,' or 'Cry of the Deer,' a beautiful hymn in Irish, ascribed to Patrick with some probability. For a skilful translation of it see Sigerson, *Bards of the Gael and Gaul*, p. 138.

pointing them to the triple growth of the shamrock may be taken as an example of his method—a method so successful that he is said to have baptized 'thousands' of the heathen. Another graceful tale preserved in the Book of Armagh may be reproduced in its entirety as typical of the Scotic missionary tone in the sixth and seventh centuries. It tells how Patrick, in the course of a visit to Connaught, came to Cruachan, where there was a large settlement of druids. Two pupils of the druids, maiden daughters of the High-king of Ireland, Ethne the Fair and Fedelma the Ruddy, going to bathe in early morning at a secluded fountain, were startled to find a synod of clerics clothed in white poring over their books.

> 'The maidens said unto them, "Whence are ye and whence come ye?" And Patrick said, "It were better for you to confess to the true God than to enquire concerning our race." The first maiden said, "Who is God and where is God and of what nature is God? Where is His dwelling-place? Has your God sons and daughters, gold and silver? Is He ever-living? Is He beautiful? Did many foster His Son? Are His daughters dear and beauteous to men of the world? Is He in heaven or on earth, in sea and rivers, in mountainous places or valleys? Declare unto us the knowledge of Him? How shall He be seen? How is He to be loved? How is He to be found in youth or old age?"
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> 'St. Patrick full of the Holy Ghost answered and said: "Our God is the God of all men, the God of heaven and earth, of the sea and rivers: God of sun, moon and all stars, of high mountains and lowly valleys, the God who is above heaven and in heaven and under heaven. He hath habitation in the heaven and on the earth and in the sea and in all things that are therein. He inspireth all things. He quickeneth all things. He is over all things and upholdeth all. He giveth light to the sun. He hath made springs in dry ground and dry islands in the sea, and hath appointed the stars to serve the greater lights. He hath a Son co-equal and co-eternal with Himself. The Son is not younger than the Father, nor is the Father older than the Son; and the Holy Ghost breathes in them. Father, Son and Holy Ghost are not divided. But I desire to invite you to the heavenly King, inasmuch as ye are daughters of an earthly king. Believe on Him!" And the maidens said as with one mouth and one heart, "Teach us most diligently

how we may believe in the heavenly King. Shew us how we may see Him face to face, and whatever thou shalt say unto us we will do." And Patrick said, "Believe ye that by baptism ye put off the sin of your father and your mother?" They answered, "We believe." "Believe ye in life after death? Believe ye the resurrection at the day of judgment?" "We believe." "Believe ye the unity of the Church?" "We believe." And they were baptized and a white veil was put upon their heads. And they asked to see the face of Christ. And the Saint said unto them, "Ye cannot see the face of Christ except ye taste of death and receive the sacrifice." And they answered, "Give us the sacrifice that we may behold the Son our Spouse." And they received the eucharist of God and slept in death. And they buried them near the well Clebach and made a circular ditch like a ferta. And this ferta or tumulus was granted with the bones of the holy maidens to St. Patrick and his successors after him forever; and he made a church of earth on the place.'[1]

Such legends, even when manifestly over-written in the interests of dogma, retain biographical realism. Their idyllic simplicity is consistent with the Irish character at its best, while a note of personal sincerity and piety sounds through them and gives ground for the belief that behind the saint of the legends there was a devout personality with persuasive and forceful gifts.

Besides his evangelizing influence upon the religion of Ireland, Patrick left a permanent impress upon the Scotic Church. Like all great religious pioneers, he combined personal courage and consecration with diplomatic and political sagacity. His missionary policy was to establish friendly relations with the kings or chiefs who at that time ruled Ireland—to persuade them to substitute Christian ministers for their druids and, where that proved impossible, to secure the settlement of a Christian colony at the headquarters of the clan. With this aim he engaged in numerous encounters with the druids. Perhaps the most typical of the legends is one which represents him as kindling on the Hill of Slane an Easter fire, on a night when kings and nobles were holding a solemn ritual in the royal house of

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[1] *Analecta Bolland.*, ii. 49. The closing sentence shows that the tale was reduced to writing as a title-deed. The theological definitions can scarcely be earlier than the seventh century.

Tara. It was a law that on that night no fire should be lighted before the druid flames were seen, and the druids, seeing Patrick's fire, urged the king to put the lawless intruder to death. The outcome was a battle in which most of the druids were slain, and the king, although not converted, was constrained to tolerate celebration of the Christian rites. There are also many tales of Patrick's contests with individual druids—how one of them by his magic brought a fall of snow, but failed, when challenged, to remove the snow, and how then Patrick prayed and the snow vanished, so that all marvelled and worshipped the true God. It is said that he made his way to a plain in Connaught, where the most famous idol in Ireland stood—a stone covered with silver and gold and surrounded by twelve pillar-stones. He struck the idol with his staff and the false god fell like Dagon. Behind such legends stands the fact that, in one tribe after another, he won a home for Christianity and provided fixity for his settlements by entrusting the offices of religion to those of his converts who belonged to the family of the chief. The settlements were thus affiliated to the tribes, and fulfilled for them many of the half-religious functions which had formerly been discharged by druids.

From Britain Patrick had no support and he was often depressed by his solitude. Yet his success was signal. His mission, which lasted nearly thirty years (432-61), is said to have taken him to almost every part of Ireland. Whereever he went, agreements with chiefs were made, clerics were ordained, churches were founded, sometimes ladies were persuaded to become nuns, and the treaties with chiefs frequently involved the bringing over—the word 'conversion' can scarcely be used—of their followers. In Dalaradia, in Connaught, in Meath and to some extent in the south of Ireland, he secured tolerance for Christianity, even where it was not accepted, and the settlements which he planted showed a vigour and a spiritual fertility which were not checked by his death.

His personality and his achievements, as we have delineated them, are attested by those of his own writings which are indisputably authentic,[1] by local memorials and by the most ancient legends. Three centuries, however, after his death another conception of him appeared in Church legend. He came to Ireland, it was said, from the Continent as the official representative of Roman Christianity. Ordained by one Gallic bishop and consecrated by another at Auxerre, he was well versed in Roman ideas and usages. His mission was that of an organizer rather than that of an evangelist. He was attended by a train of Church officials, including skilled exorcists qualified to cope with the magic of the druids. His main achievements were, on the one hand, to rescue Irish Christianity from certain heretical British practices and, on the other hand, to establish in Ireland the system of diocesan episcopacy.[2] In all his difficulties of administration and organization he appealed to Rome for guidance, and indeed he went to Rome in person to receive, by a renewal of his consecration, that singular grace which flows from the Chair of St. Peter. His greatness lay in this, that he reformed the Church of Ireland and brought it into conformity with Roman methods.

For this conception of St. Patrick's place in history there is no contemporary evidence. It took shape at a time when the Church authorities were seriously interested in showing the dependence of Ireland upon Rome, and in many respects it bears the trade-mark of ecclesiastical manufacture. How far any truth underlies the theory has been keenly and almost fiercely debated. Antagonism between Romanist and Protestant historians on such a matter may be regarded as inevitable, but dispassionate scholars, such as Professor Bury of Cambridge and Professor Zimmer of Berlin, are as much at variance. For our purpose, however, the legends which link St. Patrick to the papacy and to diocesan episcopacy have only a passing importance. If he was consecrated at Rome and subject to the Roman Obedience, if he organized the Church episcopally and deprived it of its primitive character, his work in these respects was obliterated. At the end of the fifth century and throughout the sixth, the Church of the Scots in their Irish home was certainly not in subjection to Rome and had no episcopal dioceses.[1] Besides Patrick's wide and brave evangelism, his triumph consisted in securing a place for Christianity in clan life and in entrusting the offices of religion to believing and devoted men.[2] It was a triumph more permanent than could have been secured in those days by any ecclesiastical transformation. Its permanence is well expressed in a legend[3] which more than a thousand years afterwards furnished the Church of Scotland with its emblem—the Burning Bush which is not consumed.[4] When the time for the saint's death drew near, he set out at an angel's bidding from Saul in Dalaradia, where he had probably written his pathetic Confession, to Armagh which he chiefly loved. As he journeyed, a thorn-bush on the way-side burst into a steady and unflickering flame, while an angel bade him return and sleep his last sleep in Dalaradia, the nursing-home of the Scottish Church.

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[1] The Latin writings of St. Patrick have been carefully edited by Newport White, *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxv.

[2] Two sets of Ecclesiastical Canons passed by 'Synods held under Patrick' are ascribed by the best modern canonists to the eighth century. They are fully discussed by Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*. For an epitome of them see Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, iv. 7-10.

Yet a full century passed, from the death of St. Patrick in 461, before the transference to Caledonia of the light he kindled, and it was a century which worked great changes in the Scotic Church. Of the Church organism which he left, a vague but graphic picture is presented in the Catalogue of the Saints of Hibernia, a document which is of much earlier date than most of the Patrick legends.[5]

'The first Order of catholic saints was in the time of Patricius, when they were all bishops, illustrious and holy and full of the Holy

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[1] When the Scotic usages were debated at Whitby (664), no reference of any kind was made to Patrick, although the Roman case would have become unanswerable if he could have been quoted as pioneer of the Roman usages. Unless Bede's narrative is worthless, the Scotic Church in the seventh century had been non-Roman as far back as its traditions went.

[2] Patrick is credited with having made Latin the Church language of Ireland. The crudity of his own Latin makes this very doubtful.

[3] Bury, *St. Patrick*, p. 207.

[4] The ever-burning fire, carefully cherished in various Irish monasteries, was probably a relic of solar and fire-worship.

[5] Not later than the first half of the eighth century.—Bury, *St. Patrick*, p. 285.

Ghost; three hundred and fifty in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one chief, Patricius; they observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one church all excommunicated. They rejected not the services and society of women, because, founded on the Rock Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This Order of saints continued for four reigns. All these bishops were sprung from the Romans and Franks and Britons and Scots.'[1]

This Order of the saints—'Ordo sanctissimus'—is dated in the Catalogue by the reigns of the kings of Ireland from the beginning of Patrick's mission in 432; but the names of the saints and kings given in the list show that the cataloguer sacrificed historical accuracy to arithmetical symmetry.[2] Considerably before 544,[3] 'Ordo sanctissimus' gave place to 'Ordo sanctior,' which he thus describes:—

> 'The second Order was that of catholic presbyters. For in this Order there were few bishops and many presbyters, in number three hundred. They had one head, our Lord; they observed different masses and different rules, one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the equinox, one tonsure from ear to ear; they refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries. This Order has hitherto lasted for four reigns. They received a mass from David, the bishop, and Gillas and Docus, who were Britons.'

The Catalogue proceeds to describe a third Order—'Ordo sanctus,' which began in 598; but the third Order belongs to the Church history of Ireland, not of Scotland. The vital matter for us is the transition from 'Ordo sanctissimus' to 'Ordo sanctior.' It was an historical development not peculiar to Ireland. We see a missionary Church, in which each saint is bishop over his own community or congregation, entering into ordinary social life and maintaining unity through loyal adherence to one chief. And then we see a change. The communities develop and diverge. The clerics begin to live a separate celibate life and a hierarchy rises. Most of the 'saints' are now presbyters, a certain number of them—fifty out of three hundred and fifty—becoming bishops. Each community or diocese develops its own life and its own ritual. But spiritual unity is secured by the headship of Christ, by the consecration expressed in tonsure and by celebrating the Lord's resurrection on the same date. Far from recognizing any authority in Rome, the Catalogue expressly records that the Easter-date observed was a distinctive one and that the mass-celebration was one introduced from Britain, which undoubtedly at that time was outside the Roman Obedience.

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[1] The Latin is given in Ussher, *Antiquities*, pp. 473-4, and in Fleming, *Collectanea Sacra*, pp. 420-1.

[2] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 286.

[3] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 13) gives 534 as the date.

The Catalogue indicates that there was some religious deterioration in the change from 'Ordo sanctissimus' to 'Ordo sanctior,' and it certainly developed features displeasing both to Protestant and to Romanist partisans. Yet only the blindest bigotry will regard the change as in any sense a degradation or corruption of Church life. On the contrary, it was a deliverance from feudal limitations and from the complications of tribal government. In the days of Patrick, when a chief gave orders that his clan should henceforward be Christian and established a bishop's altar beside the royal dwelling, the importance of personal conviction and conversion was slight, and the whole tendency was to give the bishop and his ministrations the external and ceremonial functions of the soothsayer whom he supplanted, baptism and the eucharist taking the place of pagan sacrifices.[1] It was the spiritual independence of the gospel and its inherent moral force that led those whose Christianity was genuine to detach themselves as separate communities and initiate a mode of living in which religion and its requirements would be supreme.

For Scottish Church history it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the fact that at this stage the Church of the Scots in Ireland became wholly monastic. Throughout Latin and Greek Christendom the relation between monks and clerics affected religious life from the fourth century onwards for nearly a millennium. Their alliances and rivalries constituted the Church history of some lands and were important everywhere. But in the Church of the Scots alliance and rivalry were alike impossible. The monks were the clergy; all the clergy were monks.[1]

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[1] 'In the saints the Goydel saw only more powerful druids than he had previously known.'—Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 224.

Scotic monastic life had little resemblance to the monachism of St. Basil and St. Martin, and attempts to trace an historical connexion between them have no solid groundwork. Monachism is not distinctively Christian. It is a tendency of natural religion which has worked itself into Christianity without any propagandism and has taken shape in accordance with the temperament and the surroundings of different races. The theory set forth forty years ago by Skene that it was introduced into Ireland by missionaries from Whithorn and from the British Church of Wales has proved untenable.[2] Apart from the fact that the British Christianity of the sixth century was moribund and incompetent to reproduce itself, the Scotic monks were of a type widely different from the British.[3] They resembled the monks of Egypt and Syria, inasmuch as they dwelt in groups of huts and worshipped in small oratories scarcely to be called churches; but these resemblances arose not from imitation but from similarity in social conditions and the stage of civilization reached. In principle and in spirit the difference was generic.[4] Detachment from normal Church activities was a characteristic of early Latin and Greek monachism, whereas identification with the whole life of the Church was an essential of the monachism of the Scots.

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[1] 'Omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores ceterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servent.'—*Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xvi. In Ireland, as afterwards in Scotland, this feature of the Church had an explanation in social conditions. There was no articulated national life. In the absence of local administrative units, a territorial Church system had no framework.

[2] Skene, ii. 48, 50; Zimmer, p. 66.

[3] Gildas, who wrote between 530 and 540, describes the organization of the British Church in explicit terms—ambitious bishops, foolish priests, shameless deacons, wolfish ministers. No doubt Gildas was a pessimist; but his delineation of the organization of the Church cannot be set aside. It had no resemblance to the Scotic Church except as to Easter-date, mass ritual, etc. The 'threefold ministry' existed side by side with the monastic system. Details will be found in Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain*, p. 366 ff. On the British Church in Wales see pages 17 and 20.

[4] Fowler, *Adamnani Vita*, xxxviii. ff. Traces of Egyptian and Coptic Christianity, which have been found in Celtic manuscripts and carving, may be due to such connexions as that of St. Patrick with Lérins. They are far too few to be regarded as a basis for history. A single *crux ansata* in Ross-shire is in the Celtic area of Scotland the only evidence adduced by Professor Sayce. See *Transactions of Scottish Ecclesiological Society* for 1912.

This is a primary and fundamental truth, without which the developments of the Scotic Church are unintelligible. Apart from monasteries, that Church had no organism of any kind, either parochial or diocesan. Those settlements in which the Christianity of Patrick's time came in the succeeding century to be sheltered, embodied and perpetuated, were, it must be repeated, the only Church in Ireland. Far from being anti-episcopal, they gave bishops important functions[1] ascribed to their office in every part of Christendom from the second century onwards if not from the time of the Apostles. Indeed some settlements, termed 'collegiate,' had seven bishops, who were usually brothers selected from one family.[2] Where a settlement had no bishop, it was dependent for episcopal functions upon the bishops of neighbouring settlements. The weakness, or rather the danger, of the settlements lay in their half-feudal relation to the chiefs and their clansmen, who might claim a right to the sacraments and other religious ordinances on purely tribal grounds, so reducing Christianity to a clan custom. This danger was grave and indeed inevitable when the 'churches,' little wooden oblongs,[3] were mere adjuncts to the royal dwelling, but it disappeared when the settlement was housed on a separate site and ceased to depend upon the favour of the chief. So it was that the planting of monastic settlements, which in 'catholic' regions implied some severance from Church organism and Church interests, was among the Scots an assertion of Church independence which had distinct and far-reaching value.

That this monasticizing of the Church was a healthy, spiritual movement is demonstrated by the fact that the period which produced it was a golden period, marked by intelligent and devout enthusiasm. The Church flourished

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[1] See page 54.

[2] Skene, ii. 24, 25.

[3] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. 92; Fowler, *Adamnani Vita*, xxxviii.-xl.; Skene, ii. 58, 59.

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and brought forth fruit abundantly. Ireland was exempt from that conflict with savage invaders which ruined the British Church, and indeed furnished a welcome home to British refugees. Christian minds occupied themselves with sacred learning, and a standard of education was reached which probably surpassed that of Rome herself and was equalled only in a few monasteries of southern Gaul and southern Italy. The attainments and the culture of those settlements, which are recorded in all histories of the Church of Ireland, are quite outside the region of legend.[1] It is important for our narrative that many of them were founded between 520 and 560: Clonard in 520, Moville in 540, Clonmacnoise in 541 or 544, Clonfert in 556 or 557, Bangor in 554 or 558. These were notable and productive centres of scholarship, in which Latin was a living language, while Greek and Hebrew received some attention.[2] The centre of interest was the study and the transcribing of Scripture. There was no narrowness in the method of study, and transcribing was developed into a high art. The lettering and illumination of missals and psalters, some specimens of which survive, exhibit great technical skill and considerable artistic idealism. As centres of religious education, these settlements were specially effective. The smallest of them had usually fifty scholars each, and the largest (Clonard) numbered its scholars by thousands.[3] The nearest modern parallel to their effectiveness may be found in post-Reformation times, in Calvin's school at Geneva and the Jesuit schools in Austria and central Germany.

But it is another aspect of their development that gives them a place in the history of the Church of Scotland. They became springs or rather fountains of an eager and exuberant missionary activity. How far this was due in the case of individual missionaries to the innate Irish love of wandering[1] and how far to religious zeal, it is impossible to measure. Legends such as that of St. Brendan, who sailed on the ocean for seven years in search of the land of promise,[2] indicate that a desire to preach the gospel sometimes held a subordinate place, and this is borne out by the remoteness and loneliness of many of the homes which the venturers made for themselves. Even such lonely homes, however, served to diffuse Christianity, and in the majority of cases an evangelizing purpose, strong and persistent, can clearly be traced. If those who constructed shrines on rocky islets were satisfied with the maintenance of their own religious life, it was otherwise with those who 'travelled for Christ' (*peregrinati pro Christo*) on the Continent. Through them the influences of Scotic Christianity permeated many pagan districts of western Europe and converted tribes which were untouched by the contemporary propagandism of Rome.

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[1] Cf. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 192 ff.

[2] Fowler, *Adamnani Vita*, xlvii. ff.

[3] Clonard is said to have had 3000 scholars. Seeing that these included 100 bishops, they can scarcely have been resident at Clonard at the same time, although Healy thinks that they were. The monks under a single abbot were not all necessarily in the same monastery.—Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, lxi.; *Insula Sanctorum*, p. 201.

The character and spirit of the Scotic missionaries are clearly exhibited in the career of one of them who had no personal relation to Scotland. Columbanus (543-615), a native of Leinster, was educated at the monastic schools of Lough Erne and Bangor.[3] He attained skill in rhetoric and geometry, and his Latin verses show finished and graceful scholarship. In 585 he set out for Gaul with twelve companions, and settled in Burgundy at a time when savage licence flourished there under the misgovernment of the sons of Clovis. The settlers made their home in a wild forest amidst a population only nominally Christian. Their Rule was far sterner than that of St. Benedict.[4] The fare was meagre; unquestioning obedience was imperative; flogging was inflicted for the slightest breach of discipline.

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[1] 'Consuetudo peregrinandi.'—*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, ii. 30. In the greatest missionaries beneficent zeal has blended with the exploring temper and a love of adventure. On the Scotic 'peregrini' of later centuries see Chapter V.

[2] Elements of the story appear in the *Arabian Nights*; cf. also Tennyson's 'Voyage of Maeldune.'

[3] From Bangor in its later days issued John the Scot (Erigena), who amazed continental thinkers by the sweep and boldness of his speculations. Bangor was a nursery of scholars and missionaries till the ninth century, when it was laid low by the Danes.

[4] On the Rule of St. Columbanus see Hauck und Seebass in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xiii. and xvii.

Yet they attracted admirers and adherents. While their industry redeemed the forest-land, their decorum and piety put forth a civilizing influence. So rapidly did they increase that new settlements were formed, notably that of Luxeuil (Luxovium), which became the greatest monastery of the age. After some twenty years of blameless and beneficent labour, they incurred the censure of the local clergy, partly through the working of jealousy, partly through their persistent adherence to the Scoto-Celtic date of Easter. They were summoned to a synod of Gallic bishops, but Columbanus refused to attend, and wrote a firm letter to the Pope, Gregory the Great, addressing him with respect yet appealing to Scripture as his authority, and reproaching Gregory with his blind attachment to the usages of Leo the Great: 'a living dog,' he wrote, 'is better than a dead Leo.' He passed this crisis safely, but presently he came into collision with Brunhilda, the reckless and infamous queen-regent, to whom the Pope had written with unworthy adulation. Columbanus refused to connive at her outrages upon the laws of wedlock, and ultimately he was banished.[1] The ship in which he was sent to Ireland was wrecked and he made his way across France to the Rhine. He and his faithful comrades ascended the stream on coracles to the Lake of Constance, where they made a new settlement which became a permanent home of Christian industry and evangelizing education. Under one of his companions the foundation was laid of the famous monastery of St. Gall. Finally he crossed the Alps, and with the favour of the king of the Lombards made his last settlement at Bobbio. In modern times the library of Bobbio has disclosed its origin, for copies of the service-books of Bangor have been found side by side with the Muratorian fragments of the New Testament and other classical treasures. Such literary productions were of a later date than Columbanus, who, though a scholar, threw his chief energies into the conversion of the Arians, still numerous in Lombardy. Towards the papal Chair now occupied by Boniface IV he maintained the same attitude as in his correspondence with Gregory, rebuking Boniface for negligence in suppressing heresy, and calling him to 'purge the Chair of Peter from error.' His varied career closed in a cave which he used for his devotions and for repose amidst his labours.[1]

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[1] Brunhilda (Bruniehildis) supported papal claims and professed to be a protectress of the Church. She insisted upon the right of the State to supervise bishoprics and monasteries. The refusal of Columbanus to admit royal officers to Luxeuil abbey was made the occasion of his banishment.

These particulars take us far away from Scotland, but not from Scotic Christianity. Columbanus was a typical Scotic churchman of his generation. His training, his tone and his principles were Scotic. Within a few years of his departure from Bangor, several monks, animated by the same spirit, left the same monastery to become evangelists on the west coast of Britain. Of these Comgall was the most famous, but for lasting success the most noteworthy is Moluag, or Lughaidh, who settled on the island of Lismore and exercised a wide influence on Skye, Raasay, Morven and Lewis, besides despatching colonies into Ross and Banffshire. Moluag's work at Lismore gained such distinction that six centuries later his cell in that lonesome island became the seat of the first bishop of Argyll, and two of his colonies on the mainland, Rosemarkie and Morthlach, received almost as high honour.[2] Yet the legends which record his achievements convey no clear idea of his character and methods, and it is from the career of Columbanus that we learn the character of an ordinary Scotic mission. Its chief features show by their resemblance what was generic, and by their difference what was distinctive, in the mission which planted Christianity firmly in North Britain—the mission of Columba.

For the origin of Columba's enterprise we must turn to the monastic school of Clonard, founded on the banks of the Boyne just thirteen years before the birth of Columbanus.[3] The founder, St. Finnian, known as 'the tutor of Erin's saints,' belonged to the Cruithnigh, an Irish race of Pictish origin, and he is said to have spent thirty years of his life among the British Christians of Wales. The tradition is significant, especially when set side by side with another which also indicates the detachment of the Scotic Church from Roman agencies. When he meditated a pilgrimage to Rome an angel forbade him, saying, 'What would be given to thee at Rome shall be given to thee in Ireland.'[1] To Finnian's settlement at Clonard the youth of North Ireland flocked in great numbers, and from the first his stimulating force was felt; but one group of his scholars was destined to outshine all others, so keen and close was their study, so masterful their purpose of serving God, so independent were they severally in their plans. They were known to posterity as the Twelve Apostles of Erin. Eleven of the twelve became founders of religious centres in different parts of Ireland. The work of the twelfth, Columba, was, as next chapter will show, distinctive, and in some respects had no parallel. Yet it is all the more important to note that in its origin and impulse it did not stand alone. Although shaped and guided by his individual genius, it was part of a general and intelligible development of history.

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[1] *Vita Columbani* has been carefully edited by Bruno Krusch.

[2] Rosemarkie was for a time the seat of the bishops of Ross, and Morthlach was the home of a Celtic bishop until the erection of the Aberdeen bishopric.

[3] Fowler says 'about 520.'—*Adamnani Vita*, li.

The providential aspect of the development is unmistakable when account is taken of the condition of the Catholic Church in the middle of the sixth century. The Christianity of Rome was corrupt, and 'the sacred city bore the semblance of death.' The trivial platitudes of the Council of Orange (529) exhibited the incapacity of the Church to recognize the breadth of the gospel, while the practical deterioration of religion is illustrated by the fact that in 530 the Roman Senate required to prohibit money payments in elections to the papacy. After 568 the Arian Lombards were all but masters of Italy and, in the famous words of Gregory, Rome was an eagle dying on the banks of the Tiber. The doctrine and ritual of the Church were shaped at Constantinople by Imperial policy rather than by religious considerations.

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[1] Legends about other Scotic saints narrate similar experiences: *e.g.* St. Bridget. The prevalence of such legends shows that in the following century the idea of independence of Rome had a place in the popular mind, yet a place which seemed to require justification.

Christian minds, so far as they were active, were occupied with dialectical subtleties about the interior life of the Godhead, and their thinking was so disputatious and pedantic as to lose religious value. The only foreign missions of the Catholic Church were in reality political enterprises directed and paid for by the Emperors; for the missions to the farther East, which extended to Herat, Samarkand, China and even Tibet, were not catholic but heretical. The decisions of the Fifth Œcumenical Council (553) showed in its long-winded anathemas that the one idea of churchmen was to invest Imperial edicts with a religious halo. The old Latin and Greek Churches seemed to have lost all power to persuade, convert and cleanse.

At this very stage, when darkness brooded over the centres of the Church, lights were kindled on her outskirts. They were kindled in many lands, but nowhere did they shine so brightly as in the Scotic monasteries of Ireland. Through such men as Columbanus there was a new dissemination of the gospel. Narrow they were, severe and militant, ascetic with an intensity which could not last, and clinging to the usages of their fathers with a dogged indifference to the customs of Christendom. Yet they denounced idolatry in the ears of rustic pagans, and condemned the immoralities and cruelties of their chiefs without fear. The simplicities of Christianity, its simple beliefs and its simple laws, were the motives and the measure of their work. In their personal behaviour the heathen saw a new type of purity and honour, of rigid self-denial and informal worship, while their well-ordered and beneficent industry led the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad for them and the desert to rejoice and blossom as a rose. This truly great movement, so irrefragable a proof of the place of Christianity in providence, secured a permanent home for the Scotic Church when it found an agent who had all the strength and enterprise of Columbanus with more breadth of outlook, more steadiness of aim and more kindliness of heart.

CHAPTER IV

COLUMBA

563-597

St. Columba's training—His work in Ireland—Occasion of his exile—His selection of Iona—Life on Iona—Worship and work—West coast missions—Overthrow of druidism in north—Organization of Dalriada—Missions in Pictland—The founder of a nation—His personality—His last days.

WITH Columba we enter a tract of indisputable history, contrasting pleasantly with the preceding and succeeding ages in its clearness and realism. His 'Virtues' were recorded about sixty years after his death by one of his successors and, although that record has not been preserved in its original form, it was the basis of Adamnan's *Life of Columba* written forty years later, which is one of the most valuable surviving records of primitive Christianity.[1] Adamnan gives great prominence to prophecies and miracles, to apparitions and to devilry, as did all Christians in the seventh century, but he discloses vividly and without bias the character and achievements of an historic personality.

Columba, or Columcille,[2] was born at Gartan in the wilds of Donegal in 521. He was of royal race, being great-grandson on his father's side of the High-king Niall of the Nine Hostages, and descendant on his mother's side of another king of Ireland. According to tradition, he was himself 'entitled to the sceptre of Erin but gave it up for God.' His bent was from boyhood religious, and he was prepared for the diaconate and ordained deacon at the monastic school of Moville. After ordination he studied for a while in Leinster under an aged bard, and then proceeded to the school of Finnian at Clonard, where the distinction of his character became apparent. A spirit of enterprise, combined with habits of eager devotion and close Bible study, secured a leading place for him among Finnian's famous pupils.[1] The abbot so valued his services that he sent him to the neighbouring Bishop of Clonfert to be consecrated bishop. Columba received a cordial welcome from the Bishop, whom he found ploughing a field; but by mistake, instead of being consecrated bishop, he was ordained presbyter. When the mistake was discovered, he regarded it as providential and vowed that he would be a presbyter as long as he lived. Possibly the episode is a churchmen's fiction, designed to explain why so great a saint never held episcopal rank. In any case it gives an instructive view of the relation between the different offices in those times and of the extreme simplicity of ritual.

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[1] See Note D on *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*.

[2] *I.e.* the 'dove of the church,' a name given to Columba in his childhood because he frequented the place of prayer.

After completing his preparation at the school of Glasnevin, he was engaged until his fortieth year as a pioneer missionary in different parts of Ireland, with a success which led to his enrolment among the Twelve Apostles of Erin. The foundation of three hundred Christian institutions—churches or monasteries—is ascribed to him, the principal being at Kells,[2] Durrow and Derry. No stress can be laid upon the number,[3] three hundred being a sacred number in Irish legend; but his activity and success are well attested.

The same number reappears in the record of an event which altered the course of his life. For transcribing the Scriptures he had an overbearing passion, and he is said to have made three hundred copies of the New Testament. On one occasion, when visiting Moville, he stole by night into the church and made a surreptitious copy of a precious psalter which the abbot had brought from Rome; but he was observed and the abbot demanded the copy. When Columba refused, the case was laid before King Diarmait of Meath, who decided for the abbot in words which passed into a proverb: 'As the calf goes with the cow, the copy goes with the book.' Enraged by this decision, Columba vowed vengeance on the king. His anger was increased and his vow took shape, when shortly afterwards a homicide who had sought shelter with him was slain by the king's orders in violation of the rights of sanctuary. Rousing the north of Ireland in revolt, he defeated Diarmait in the battle of Cooldrevny (*Culdreimhne*) with a slaughter so bloody that the conscience of the nation was touched. Columba was excommunicated and banished, the sentence being that he must make his home where he could not see Erin, and convert from paganism as many men as he had slain in the battle.

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[1] See pages 45-46.

[2] The splendid manuscript preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and known as the Book of Kells or the Great Gospel of Columcille, is assigned by the best authorities to the ninth century. The Book of Durrow, however, may be ascribed to Columba 'with good reason.' See Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st series, pp. 145, 154.

[3] Recent historians number forty-one dedications to Columba in Ireland.

The details of this story, which appears in other shapes, are possibly fabulous, and some scholars set it aside entirely. But they fail to explain certain indisputable facts. His biographer, Adamnan, although ascribing his exile to a 'wish to travel for Christ,' alleges that Columba was 'excommunicated by a synod for certain venial and pardonable faults.'[1] He is also careful to demonstrate that Columba was treated deferentially in his later years by the authorities of the Irish Church,[2] and not only he but other narrators of varying authority describe Columba as regretting with incessant wistfulness his absence from his native land. There is no doubt that withdrawal from life on the mainland to an island retreat had as a rule a disciplinary if not a penitential intention. It is also certain that he was involved in and partially responsible for 'several battles.' The battle of Cooldrevny in particular was fought (in 561)[3] in circumstances and connexions closely corresponding to the story as given above. A rival narrative quoted by Skene from an *Old Irish Life*, to the effect that when he had 'sown faith and religion throughout Erin it came into his mind' that in boyhood he had resolved to 'go in pilgrimage,' is too puerile for credence. Undoubtedly he left Ireland as an unwilling exile condemned by his compatriots.[1] Even Skene admits that he probably had a quarrel with King Diarmait, and that the reason for his leaving Ireland was in part political.

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[1] *Vita S. Columbae*, iii. 3.

[2] The emphasis which Adamnan lays upon this is significant; it is one of the few matters with regard to which his memoir becomes argumentative.—*Ibid.*, i. 49.

[3] Cooldrevny is the name of a ridge six miles north of Sligo.

His choice of a place for settlement has been largely explained in the preceding chapters. For eighty or ninety years migrations of Irish Dalriads to the coast of Kintyre had been frequent. Only a few of the migrations had had a religious character, and the stray religious settlements had had little Christian value.[2] Socially, however, the Dalriads on the borders of Strathclyde had become a considerable force. They had made their way southwards and also into the interior, where they collided with the Picts. In 560, just one year before the date of the Cooldrevny battle, they had been severely defeated by the Pictish king, Brude, and driven back into Kintyre and the adjacent islands. It was among them, his fellow-tribesmen, in their confusion and calamity, that Columba resolved to make his home, and he selected for a settlement the most habitable of the islands into which they had been driven. Yet he went not as a military ally Bede records the fact that he received the islands as 'a gift from the Picts.'[3] His aim was to strengthen the feeble religion of the British Dalriads; and it was his distinction that he conceived and set forth Christianity, not as a tribal faith to be cherished in a spirit of aggression or even of defence, but as an open message of justice, liberty and peace. It was this conception, boldly and skilfully carried out, that gave Columba a place in history far above the saintliest and the most strenuous of the other Apostles of Erin.

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[1] In Irish legend the banishment of Columba is reckoned as one of 'the three crooked counsels of Erin.'

[2] See page 24. All the settlements except Ailech (Alyth?) were remote, such as Lismore, Rona, Eigg and Barra. See Mackinnon, *Early Scotland*, pp. 162-3.

[3] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 3. Some legends ascribe the gift to the Dalriad king Conall. Sir H. Maxwell suggests that the island was given by the Scots, and that the gift was confirmed by the Picts after the conversion of their king. Various traditions indicate that Iona was not uninhabited when Columba arrived. Some say that it was already occupied by a Christian colony; others, that it was a centre of pagan worship; while O'Donnell believes that the landing was resisted by druids disguised as bishops. One native name for the island is *Innis nan Druidhneach*, the Druids' Isle.

Iona,[1] which lies seaward of the westernmost projection of Mull, is an island about three miles and a half in length and a mile and a half in breadth. Well watered, adapted both for agriculture and for pasture,[2] it has sandy shores with inlets suitable as landing-places and harbours for the shipping of those days. At several points in the island there are glades and recesses which gave sheltered quiet for private devotion, and hillocks from which approaching visitors could be observed and forecasts of the weather taken. On the highest hillock Columba had a house built for himself, while houses for his companions, who at the outset numbered twelve in accordance with Scotic usage,[3] were built on a sheltered site convenient for carrying on their various industries. Of the ruins that now remain the very oldest are at least two centuries later than Columba's day, and our knowledge of the original buildings depends wholly upon casual references in Adamnan's *Life*. They were floored with planks and roofed with wicker-work. Columba's house, although more spacious than the others, was only a little hut (*tuguriolum*). Beside the dwellings of the brethren—circular creel-work huts thatched with rushes or heather—there was a guest-house (*hospitium*).[4] Some little distance off stood the church or oratorium, which had a side-chapel (*exedra*) used by the brethren for their private devotions.[5] The settlement was surrounded by a rampart—called sometimes 'vallum,' sometimes 'septum'—although no assault or fear of assault is recorded.[1] There was a separate kitchen or buttery under charge of a Saxon baker. The staff included also a butler, whose merriment was sometimes obtrusive. Columba had a special attendant (*minister*), and a car or wagon (*plaustrum*) was set apart for his use. Generally, the method of living had no meagreness and little austerity. So attractive was the life that the numbers of the brethren increased rapidly, recruits coming from British Dalriada, Irish Dalriada and also from South Britain. When they numbered one hundred and fifty, the settlement was regarded as complete, and great strictness was shown in the admission of new members. They were divided into three classes—novices or pupils (*alumni*), workers (*operarii*) who were occupied in agriculture, tending cattle, breeding seals, and other industries, and seniors (*seniores*) whose functions were to attend religious services and to transcribe the Scriptures. They were all called monks (*monachi*) and wore a distinctive dress, white tunics and hooded overcoats made of wool; when journeying they wore sandals. For religious functions a special costume was assumed (*clericatus habitus*), and Columba's costume (*amphibolium*) was distinctive. Although he sometimes took counsel with the brethren, his authority was absolute.

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[1] On the name 'Iona' see Note E.

[2] Of its two thousand acres, five hundred are arable.

[3] See page 43. The idea of the Apostles as twelve regulated St. Benedict in his first settlements and was prominent in all Irish missions.

[4] The huts were ranged in a circle round a lawn. Outside the circle were the kiln, mill, barn, stable and byre.

[5] Cells in sequestered spots for private prayer, known as 'diserta' and under charge of a 'disertach,' were features of Scotic religion. There are traces of one of these in Iona, on the shore of a bay N.E. of the monastery. —Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, cxxiv., cxxxvi.

The life of the community was primarily religious, not only in motive but in method. Fasting was observed twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, while Saturday was a day of rest (*dies sabbati*). To the Lord's Day no sabbatical ideas were attached.[2] Christmas and Easter had their special celebrations and Lent was kept carefully. To fasting the more zealous added the quaint custom of standing in the sea and reciting the Psalter, a practice of which there are traces in other Celtic regions. Singing had a leading place in worship. The singing-men (*cantores*) formed a separate body. Columba wrote out a book of hymns for the week with his own hand and set a noble example by his reverence in public praise. His voice, although so powerful that it could be heard a thousand paces off, sounded like a sweet whisper to worshippers who stood beside him.[1]

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[1] This was in compliance with a tradition of Irish monasteries. On the cashel or rath see page 136.

[2] 'Dies sabbati' was not a day of worship. The identification of the Lord's Day with the Sabbath had not yet been made.—*Vita S. Columbae*, i. 16, iii. 23.

In organization the most distinctive feature was the subordination of the bishop or bishops to the abbot, the latter being always a presbyter. It is true that the special functions of bishops were carefully guarded. They alone could ordain, and in administering the Lord's Supper they used a special ritual (*episcopalis ritus*). Yet these functions were held in check. Bishops were not allowed to ordain unless the abbot placed his hand on the head of the candidate as a token of consent; and in the absence of a bishop presbyters administered the Supper without any recognition of defect in the administration. In truth the bishop was no more than an honoured functionary, who discharged specific offices required only at irregular intervals. When there was no bishop on the island, ordination was obtained from some neighbouring community[2] which had a bishop on its staff. The abbot was the sole director of Iona, the overseer and shepherd of souls.

The sacrament of Baptism was administered to adults after instruction in the faith, and in some cases to whole families including children and domestic slaves.[3] The omission of special reference to infant baptism cannot fairly be made ground for argument, since the monks were rarely within reach of infants. The Lord's Supper was observed in both kinds weekly, sometimes at noon, sometimes in the evening, with great solemnity, after the reading of the gospel. It was entitled 'sacra eucharistiae mysteria,' 'missarum solemnia,' 'sacrae oblationis mysteria,' 'sacrificiale mysterium,' 'corpus Christi.' The elements were prepared by a deacon and taken by him to the ministering presbyter at the altar. When several presbyters were present, one of them was chosen to minister, and he usually invited another to break bread with him at the altar as a token of equality, the others coming forward afterwards to receive the elements.[1] An Irish custom was practised of distributing the Bread afterwards in the refectory, and miraculous powers were ascribed to bread which a holy man had blessed. Baptism, however, was the true viaticum which secured 'a safe departure to the presence of the Lord.' Religious relics in the Roman sense, which by this time held the field in the continental Churches, had no place in Iona in Columba's time. But the touch of Columba and of the famous Irish saints was believed to work wonders, while the Cross was not only a symbol but a talisman. In the island itself three hundred and sixty crosses were erected,[2] and the sign of the Cross was employed habitually to sanctify everyday employments.

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[1] The Rule of Columba, printed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, II. i. 119, is certainly not genuine. According to Reeves, it was intended for a hermit and casts no light upon the life of Iona.—*Life of St. Columba*, ciii.

[2] Probably the nearest settlement which had a bishop was at Kingarth on the island of Bute, founded by Cathan, a contemporary of Columba.

[3] As at Philippi.—*Acts* xvi. 33.

There is no trace of the worship of the Virgin, nor does the *Life* make any reference to the authority or customs of Rome. Columba claimed to stand upon the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles. Although ecclesiastical writings were not ignored, the Bible was the one sacred book. The reading and transcribing of Holy Scripture and the committing of the Psalter to memory were primary occupations, and piety showed itself as much in the solitary exercise of spontaneous prayer as in the stated and united worship of the community.

It must not be supposed that there was any antagonism to Roman beliefs or usages. The divergence was unconscious. Columba, like Columbanus, adhered to the calculation of Easter and the method of tonsure which had been practised by his fathers, but in his day these were in use throughout Britain and Ireland. He held no doctrine which can be cited as distinctive. It is unreasonable to quote him in support of protestantism or of Romanism, of presbyterianism or of episcopacy. Yet his system and methods have a significance which cannot be concealed. They lay apart, not only from the theological debates which at that time distracted the Western and the Eastern Church, but from the ritual and organization which Roman and Greek churchmen have habitually regarded as essential to catholicity.

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[1] An interesting forecast of Communion observance in those churches in modern Scotland in which elders (presbyters) partake before the congregation. This was not done when a bishop was the celebrant.—*Vita S. Columbae*, i. 29, 44; cf. Reeves and Fowler *ad loc.* Reeves shows that the Bread-breaking does not refer to the consecration. Warren (*Liturgy and Ritual of Celtic Church*, p. 129) holds the practice to have been distinctive of the Celts. Cf. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 306.

[2] Bishop Reeves thinks that 'probably there were never more than two dozen real crosses standing at any one time.' He agrees with Dr. David Laing that the wholesale destruction of crosses which has been ascribed to seventeenth-century Presbyterians is 'a vague tradition.'—*Life of St. Columba*, cxxxvii ff.

The life of the brethren was studious, if not exactly intellectual. Of literary productiveness in the ordinary sense there was nothing, but Columba maintained the devout zeal in transcribing which he had developed in Ireland. Sometimes he wrote in his private hut, sometimes he plied his quill at the common table, in order to supervise the work of the brethren. His own manuscripts, which in the following generations were borne as a standard in tribal battles, were masterpieces,[1] but he was also a gifted teacher. He could detect in a moment the slightest slip in a long parchment, and his pupils became so celebrated that learned Irish scholars appealed to him for assistants. The ravages of the Norsemen have obliterated the products of the various crafts plied by his scholars; but his biographers and innumerable traditions furnish evidence that, while he and his followers lived in rude and lowly dwellings, their habits and their pursuits were civilized.

From the first the settlement had a missionary aim, and its effectiveness as a mission agency was immediate. Communication with the mainland and the adjacent islands was maintained by 'long-boats,' coracles and cobles, and the stream of voyagers was incessant. What shape the Christian message took, we know only by inference. The early records, being wholly uncritical, contain no definite account of the doctrine which Columba preached, although his preaching must have been systematic, powerful and persuasive. The influences which are definitely recorded are those of industry and order, justice and charity. We read of skill shown in navigation and in agriculture, of the clearance of Iona from reptiles and of the destruction of sea-monsters in the farther north. We read how he taught the natives where to cast their fishing-lines, brought a blessing to their husbandry and multiplied their flocks and herds, how he prevented outrage, rescued well-born slaves, turned pirates into honest seamen and reconciled matrimonial strife. Amidst the pillage and licence of clan life, Iona appeared as an open court of equity and a strong fort of honour. Refugees from violence and fugitives from justice came from far and near and received their deserts through the spiritual discernment of the abbot, who had curses for the guilty as well as consoling hospitality for the oppressed. To the penitent he prescribed punishment in proportion to their acknowledged crimes. Some were entrusted to the religious guidance of individual monks, termed their 'soul-friends' (*amcharas*): others were sent off to lonely islands for a term of years with a promise of absolution when the term closed. One Irish criminal guilty of incest was condemned to do penance by residing in Britain for twelve years 'with weeping and tears.' Another stranger, who came conscience-smitten to confess murder and perjury, was sent for seven years to Tiree, and then, after absolution, ordered to work out atonement for his sin by patient service of his kinsfolk. Such examples leave no uncertainty as to the influences by which Columba came to be regarded as a saint and Iona as a home of goodness and of piety. The penalties imposed were not arbitrary but in accordance with a code (*lex poenitentiae*) which the native conscience recognized as equitable.[1]

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[1] See page 49 n. 2.

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[1] Of several such codes drawn up by Scotic missionaries, one (*Poenitentiale Cummeani*) has been ascribed to Cummian of Iona (see page 67), and may be based upon the 'leges' of Columba. Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, p. 62) was led to deny this by his mistake as to the meaning of 'Scotia.' The English *Poenitentiale Theodori* refers to a 'libellus Scottorum' (Haddan and Stubbs, iii., 176, 183); and Harnack (*History of Dogma*, v. 325) holds that it was from the Iro-Scottish Church, through Theodore, that the practice of private penance in presence of a priest reached Rome. It originated not in priestcraft, but in the exigencies of evangelical missions. See Gougaud, pp. 274, 297; Loofs, *Leitfaden*, Auf. 4, p. 481.

These Christianizing forces were steadily diffused by colonies of monks sent out as branches of the mission. Some of the colonies were planted as reinforcements of earlier Scotic settlements, others on new sites chosen because of their safety or their accessibility. Tiree, twenty miles north-east of Iona, has already been mentioned. Another colony was founded on Elachnave ('Island of Saints') in the channel between Mull and the mainland of Lorne. There were settlements on the islands of Eigg, Skye and Islay, on St. Kilda and Flannan in the open Atlantic, on Rona and Sulasgeir far north of the Butt of Lewis. Indeed those who are familiar with the coast-line say that most of the recesses in which the maintenance of life is conceivable show traces of having been the home of monks. Here and there the mission worked inland, reaching perhaps Loch Awe; but as a rule it kept by the islands and the coast-line, which were to some extent under Dalriad influence. All were closely affiliated to Iona, which was known as the *matrix ecclesia.* Although each branch had a provost (*praepositus*) at its head, the provost had not the independence of an abbot. They were 'Columba's monks,' 'Columba's brothers,' guided by his rules and visited from time to time by their keen-sighted, eager chief.

His relations to the other Christian settlers from Ireland were not always smooth or amicable. The most famous of them visited him frequently, paying him high honour. Yet this did not prevent occasional collision intensified by rivalry. Some of the earlier Christian settlers are said to have challenged his right to land on Iona. Legends tell of a regular boat-race between him and Moluag (mentioned in last chapter) for possession of the island of Lismore, and of the savage imprecations uttered by Columba when he was worsted in the race. Usually, however, when differences arose he was on the side of law and order; for although irascible and impetuous he had the disposition of a masterful churchman. When St. Donnan, who wandered with fifty followers from Wigtown to Caithness, dropping followers in twos or threes to practise the hermit life, applied for admission to the brotherhood, Columba refused, 'seeing that Donnan and his monks would have red martyrdoms.' Similarly, he pronounced judgment upon a friend, 'St. Cormac,' for having added to his voyaging band a monk who had not obtained leave from his own abbot. Upon another saint (Findchan) he discharged terrible maledictions because he had sheltered in Tiree a fugitive Irish prince who had slain King Diarmait, and had procured for him ordination to the priesthood. Those collisions were probably accentuated by clan antagonisms, for most of the 'saints' with whom he collided belonged to different septs from his, and on one occasion a contest with a saint (Comgall) about a site resulted in an actual battle;[1] yet normally he was a champion of discipline and obedience to superiors.

As long as the mission was limited to the west coast, it roused no religious opposition among the natives. The 'persecutores ecclesiarum' of whom Adamnan writes were merely freebooters who resented and resisted interference with their piracy. But within two years Columba made it clear that he had more than a local and tribal mission to discharge. In 565 he crossed 'the backbone of Britain,' as early writers designate the mountain range which separated Pictland from the west, and appeared at the headquarters of the powerful Pictish king Brude, near Inverness. Here Columba was among strangers whom he could address only through interpreters, and he was faced by the robust opposition of the druids, whose influence over the king had hitherto been unchallenged. Under their guidance Brude gave the saint a rough welcome, but at the sign of the Cross the palace door flew open. Once and again the druids were defeated by Columba in encounters such as those in which the exorcists of St. Patrick worsted the druids of the Irish kings. The chief druid, Broichan, was put to open shame when Columba drank from the deadliest wells and laved his hands and feet in enchanted waters. Still greater was the discomfiture of the heathen when an Iona monk swam across the Pool of Ness, unhurt by a sea-monster[1] which had terrorized the natives for centuries. Behind the legends in which these encounters are described, the fact appears that Columba did not deny the existence of the supernatural agencies which formed the staple of druidical craft, but claimed the support of a higher power and gained his victory partly by quiet sagacity, partly by his fuller acquaintance with the ways of winds and clouds and seas. It is also plain that his denunciations of idolatry were prompted by palpable benevolence and that the charm of his teaching was its brightness. One spring, for instance, which the Picts under druid guidance had worshipped as a god because of its poisonous qualities, was converted by his prayers into a fount of healing. Several sacred wells held in reverence by Highlanders until the nineteenth century owed their sanctity, according to local traditions, to the missionary visits of Columba. Those legends are so blended with anecdotes of the liberation of slaves, the reconciliation of feuds and other beneficent achievements, as to show that Columba made the powers of nature a blessing instead of a curse to the Picts.

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[1] The scene of this contest was in Ireland near Coleraine, probably in 579; but it is mentioned at this stage in illustration of the blend between Church differences and clan feuds.

Whether Brude himself became a Christian or not is doubtful, but the death-knell of druidism was certainly sounded. Christian colonies were planted here and there in north Pictland and the coracles of Iona sped with their message of justice and mercy among the Orkney and Shetland islands, although to those waters they carried only a passing gleam of light. If a Gaelic legend preserved in the Book of Deer is authentic,[2] Columba travelled as far east as Brechin, and the dedication of churches indicates that his fame at least reached Petty, Kingussie, Auldearn, Aberdour and remote districts of Caithness. Amidst the prodigies with which the records of his journeys are ornamented, it is easy to trace threads of shrewd policy and to recognize the tact and mastery of genius as well as a steadfast moral purpose and a devout character.

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[1] 'Aquatilis bestia,' *Scotice*, 'kelpie.' Prosaic historians pronounce this to have been an otter or a whiskered seal.

[2] On the authority of the Book of Deer see Chapter IX.

One significant feature of the mission to Pictland, the duration of which is unknown, is that Columba was accompanied and assisted by at least two missionaries from Ireland.[1] Whatever had been the cause of his exile, it had left no lasting alienation, and the next stage of his career shows that his success in North Britain had secured for him a potent influence in his native land.

In 574 the king of British Dalriada died, and Columba seized the opportunity to effect a political revolution which had important religious consequences. Hitherto the Scots in Britain had been subject to the Scots in Ireland and had been thereby hindered from independent development. Columba, claiming divine guidance, nominated a king (Aidan) outside the direct line of succession, formally crowned him at Iona—it was the first Scottish coronation—and crossed to Ireland in order to complete his scheme. In 575 he met the heads of the Irish tribes and the Irish clergy at a conclave summoned by the High-king at Drumceatt in Derry.

The position of authority which he had reached is shown by the varied purpose of this expedition. He wished to secure (1) the liberation of an Irish chief with whom he had a special league; (2) the repeal of an edict of banishment which had been passed against the bards of Ireland owing to their growing pride and rapacity; (3) a declaration of the independence of British Dalriada. He failed in the first of these three purposes, but in the other two he was completely successful. The bards were restored to their office under certain restrictions, and British Dalriada was freed from tribute to the King of Ireland on condition of a defensive and offensive alliance. The importance of this statesmanlike step is shown by the fact that the Dalriads or Scots were now able to claim recognition in Britain as a separate nationality. Although King Aidan was subsequently (in 603) defeated and slain by the Angles, he left Dalriada 'a compact Christian kingdom.'[2]

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[1] Comgall and Cainnech. With Comgall he was subsequently at variance. See page 59.

[2] For the political bearings of this, see Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, i. 17-19, and Rait, *Making of Scotland*, p. 6.

Nine years after the Drumceatt conclave, the death of King Brude opened out another pagan region to the pioneers of Christianity. The line between north and south Pictland was indistinct, and Brude was succeeded by a south Pictish king, who on his accession adopted his predecessor's friendly attitude towards the mission. The Iona monks were now free to extend their activity to south Pictland, and they made full use of their freedom. Before the death of Columba, which took place in 597, Caledonia, north of the line between Edinburgh and Glasgow,[1] was studded with Christian settlements which recognized the Abbot of Iona as their master. The number of these settlements has been very variously estimated—from fifty-nine to three hundred; but the historical importance of the movement is that nearly half of those which can with confidence be ascribed to Columba were in Pictish territory.[2] The chief of them probably was at Abernethy, where the king is said to have settled and built a church, but they included also such centres as Aberdour in Aberdeenshire, Deer in Buchan and Kilrymont (St. Andrews) in Fife. These Christian colonies,[3] each of which exercised on a smaller scale the same civilizing influence as Iona, developed and may almost be said to have created that fusion of the races out of which the Scottish nationality emerged. In addition to his place in the history of the Church, Columba has an indisputable position among the founders of nations.

His personality was not less unique than were his achievements, and imparted distinctive features to the Church which he planted. The outlines of it, which can be discerned with some clearness amidst mists of legend, disclose a figure of heroic dignity: 'Angelic in appearance, polished in speech, holy in his doings, great in counsel, *insulanus miles*'; so he is described by Adamnan. He stood to some extent apart from his followers, being guided by visions which he made known to them only vaguely, and exercising absolute authority both in Iona and over its most distant colonies. He was liable to bursts of passion and occasionally displayed an imperiousness and aristocratic pride unlike the normal pattern of saintliness. Yet these traits were combined with a geniality which diverged still more widely from monastic ideals. 'He always showed cheerfulness on his holy face.' *Hilaritas*—an hilarity which was compatible with deep devoutness—was his outstanding mark. He watched over the welfare of his followers with the thoughtful affection of a father. He could not tolerate the idea of their being overworked and studiously sought to lighten their burdens, Sundays and holy days being signalized by simple festivities and some enrichment of the daily fare. In all the arrangements of their life they were impressed by his kindliness and forbearance. When he sat at his writing-board illuminating manuscripts, they stood at the doorway of his hut gazing with proud admiration. Sometimes when he plied his wonderful penmanship in the common-room they pressed so close upon him as to upset his ink-horn. When he withdrew to the bushes of the island for evening prayer, they crept after him with loving awe to admire the radiance of his prayerful face. If at night a special vision reached him, he sounded the monastery bell and they rose gladly to kneel beside him in the prayer-house. 'Patronus noster' was their favourite title for him, and the settlement was termed a 'family,' the family of Iona. His strictness in discipline and his severity towards gross offences were tempered by a benignant tenderness in dealing with the frail, and by frank recognition of the limitations of human life.[1] We read of his spending infinite pains in preparing a hunting-spear for a wild peasant, of his presenting a restored penitent with a precious sword in order that he might redeem a broken vow, and of his spending a whole night in persuading a fractious woman to return her husband's love. In the few surviving fragments of his poetry there is nothing ascetic, but only the beat of simple yet virile emotion in which Irish patriotism blends with a fresh delight in nature :—

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[1] On Jocelyn's account of a meeting between Columba and Kentigern at Glasgow see page 26. Jocelyn, in pursuance of his professional duty to glorify Kentigern, represents him as having assisted in the conversion of Scots as well as Picts, but his narrative at this point is specially fabulous. Although there may have been a meeting, there is no evidence of co-operation or even contact between the intermittent efforts of the British Church and the Scotic forces directed by Columba.

[2] Bellesheim's list (*History of Catholic Church*, i. 79 ff.) must be checked by Skene's (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. ch. iv.).

[3] Nothing is known of any Columban nunnery. A married woman who disliked her husband proposed to Columba to 'cross the sea and enter a monastery of girls': but the saint insisted upon the obligations of her wedlock.—*Vita S. Columbae*, ii. 41. Nunneries appear first when the mission moved southwards, fifty years after Columba's death.

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[1] When reproached with his insistence upon labour, he is said to have replied, 'Nemo dormiens coronabitur et nemo securus possidet regnum coelorum.'

> 'What joy to fly upon the white-crested sea and to watch the waves break upon the Irish shore! What joy to row the coracle and to land in the whitening foam! Oh, how my boat would fly, if its prow were turned towards my Irish oak-grove! But the noble sea now carries me only to Albyn, the land of ravens. My foot is in my little boat, but my sad heart ever bleeds. There is a grey eye which always turns to Erin, but never in this life shall it see Erin nor her sons and daughters. From the high prow I look over the sea, and great tears are in mine eyes when I turn to Erin, where the songs of the birds are sweet and the priests sing like birds, where the young are gentle and the old are wise, where the great men are noble to look at and the women fair to wed. . . . My heart is broken in my breast. If death comes to me suddenly, it will be because of the great love that I bear to the Gael.'

Again he sings of Aran, the holy island of west Ireland :—

> 'Oh Aran, my sun; my heart is in the west with thee! To sleep on thy pure soil is as good as to be buried in the land of St. Peter and St. Paul. To live within the sound of thy bells is to live in joy. Oh, Aran, my sun; my love is in the west with thee.'

So dearly did he love Erin that, when the west wind was high, he charged one of the brethren to watch for a stork that had been driven across the Irish Channel, to lift it tenderly and feed it for three days until it was strengthened to fly back to the fatherland. 'God bless thee, my son,' he said to the brother who discharged this office, 'for thy kindness to our stranger guest.'

These notes of geniality and tenderness are not heard in the Roman monachism of Columba's age or indeed of any age except that of Francis of Assisi, when their tone was rapidly deepened by constraint and failure. They made an impress upon all the 'families' of Iona, giving, as next chapter will show, an attractive warmth to their evangelism, and fitting them for ministerial and pastoral functions which monks of the normal pattern have never even attempted to discharge.

Another specific feature of Columba's personality was distinctive of the religious mind in the north-west of Britain. He was credited with the gift of second sight, differing in this, as recent critics have pointed out, from the early saints of English origin.[1] The most characteristic of the miracles ascribed to him are deduced from his possession of a faculty of vision, mental as well as spiritual in its working—an enlargement of the reach of his mind (*sinu mentis laxato*)—which enabled him to read the distant and the future in his solitary musings. The appearance in the Columban traditions of this trait of the west-highland temperament would in itself suffice to show that these traditions rest upon realities. By the family of Iona this gift[2] was reverentially ascribed to the direct visitation of the Holy Ghost.

Columba's death was in keeping with his life, showing the same dignity, geniality and devoutness. In old age he paid a visit of some months to Ireland, where he is said to have been received as an angel of God, to have acted as soul-friend to two kings, and to have been housed in his old school at Clonmacnoise. Yet his fiery temper was even then unquenched, for the visit was marred by a battle, for which according to himself he required divine pardon.[3] When he returned to Iona, his strength was exhausted and he desired to die, although he continued to direct the 'family' and to transcribe the Scriptures. At last, when he had entered his seventy-seventh year, he knew that his time had come and made a farewell round of the island on his wagon, blessing the brethren as he passed them. 'I have a little secret for thee,' he said to his attendant: '. . . this day is called in the sacred volumes Sabbath, which is interpreted Rest, and to me it is truly a sabbath, because it is the last day of my present laborious life. At midnight, when the venerable Lord's Day begins, I shall go the way of the fathers, for already my Lord Jesus Christ deigns to invite me, and I shall journey to Him on His own invitation in the intermediate night.' As he approached the monastery he sat down to rest at a spot still marked by an ancient cross. An old white horse, employed to fetch milk from the dairy, came up to him, placed its nose on his bosom and began to whinny, as though taking leave. The attendant attempted to drive it away, but Columba checked him, saying, 'Let be; let this lover of me pour out its bitter grief into my bosom; you, man though you are, could know nothing of my departure save what I have just told you; whereas to this irrational animal the Creator Himself has somehow disclosed that his master is about to depart from him.' With these words he blessed the work-horse and it turned away from him in sadness. Entering the monastery, he sat down to transcribe the Psalter and continued till he reached the words, 'They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.' 'Here,' he said, 'at the end of this page I must stop; the words that follow let Baitheneus write.' By these words he was understood to designate his successor.

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[1] See Lang, i. 70, 86.

[2] Adamnan twice quotes Columba's own description of this gift—*Vita*, i. 1. and i. 43. In the latter passage he says that to 'some few men God grants the faculty of looking at the whole universe as it were in a single ray of the sun.' This is a striking parallel to the incident told by Gregory of St. Benedict, Columba's contemporary. One evening the saint, when gazing into darkness, saw suddenly a dazzling ray of light in which the whole world was reflected. Is it possible that Adamnan borrowed from Gregory?

[3] In the preface to a hymn ascribed to him, *Altus Prosator*, he 'desires forgiveness for three battles he had caused in Erin.' See page 50.

After attending vigils, he turned to his couch and gave his attendant a last message to the brethren, urging them to peace and charity, and assuring them of God's present blessings with everlasting riches. When the monastery bell tolled at midnight, he rose hastily and entered the church alone. His attendant and some other monks followed and found him lying before the altar. When they lifted him with lamentations, he opened his eyes with a happy smile, indicating by a movement of his hand his desire to give them a blessing, and then breathed out his soul.

Multitudes desired to attend his obsequies, but a violent storm which blew for several days prevented them from crossing the Sound, and the monks accepted it as a welcome providence that they were alone when they laid the remains of their beloved father in the grave. During the following centuries many saints and heroes were buried in Iona, but none left so fine and fascinating a memory as the chivalrous and pious founder of the Scottish nationality and the Scottish Church.

NOTE D. PAGE 48.

Adamnani Vita S. Columbae.

Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* has been edited in modern times by William Reeves (Dublin University Press, 1857, and Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), the later edition having notes by Skene and Forbes; W. M. Metcalfe (Gardner, 1889); and J. T. Fowler (Clarendon Press, 1894).

Adamnan, who was born in Ireland in 624, came to Iona in 652, and in 679 was appointed abbot of the settlement. He held that office till 704, and wrote the *Life* in the course of his abbacy, probably between 692 and 697. Besides local information, he had as material a memoir written by one of his predecessors in the abbacy, Cummian (abbot 659-69), *De Virtutibus Sancti Columbae*. Cummian's treatise has been printed by Colgan and Pinkerton, but their version is an abridgment and cannot be trusted as an authority.

Adamnan's purpose was not controversial. He shows no 'tendency,' except a desire to keep out of sight the divergence of the Columban Church from continental Christianity. He himself was an earnest advocate of the continental usage as to Easter, which in his time was a ground of battle; but he refers to that contention only once (*Vita*, i. 3), when he says that at Clonmacnoise Columba received a message from the Holy Spirit 'de illa quae post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiae ecclesias discordia.' He was not an historian, nor even a biographer, but an avowed eulogist and hagiologist, who divided his memoir into—(*a*) Prophetic revelations, (*b*) Divine powers, (*c*) Angelic apparitions. While this arrangement lessens the chronological worth of his narrative, and leaves a good deal of uncertainty as to the sequence of events, it yields a definite impression of Columba's personal character, with many invaluable because involuntary disclosures of the Christianity of Iona. If sometimes he ascribes to Columba the usages and opinions of his own times, those times were closely adjacent, and his very anachronisms show what Iona was in its greatness—at the end if not at the beginning of the seventh century. Yet this qualification is scarcely necessary; the anachronisms are so few and unimportant. The contrast to the *Lives* of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern is immeasurable; it is the difference between memoir and myth.

NOTE E. Page 52.

The word 'Iona.'

The name of the island was I, Hy or Hii, written in Irish Ia, hIe, hI., eo, sometimes with the addition of 'Columkille.' In Latin the usual forms are Hii, Eo, Hu, Hy and I, from which adjectives are formed, viz. Hiiensis, Euea, *Ioua*, etc. Adamnan uses the form Ioua, which was transformed into Iona by a transcriber's mistake, the third letter being inverted. The mistake was welcomed and endorsed. It seemed to be appropriate, for 'Iona' is the Hebrew word for 'Columba,' who gave the island its fame. The Gaelic name is 'I Cholum Cille.' Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, cxxvii., Fowler, *Adamnani Vita*, lxv., Mackay, *Chalmers Lectures* for 1913.

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF THE IONA MISSION

597-664

Successors of Columba—Spirit and method of Iona missions—The Church in South Britain—St. Augustine's mission—Paulinus in Northumbria—His work overthrown by Penda—Arrival of St. Oswald—St. Aidan sent from Iona—Lindisfarne—Spread of Scotic mission—St. Cuthbert—Evangelization of England by Scots.

COLUMBA is said to have prophesied on the eve of his death: 'To this place, small and mean though it be, not only kings of the Scots with their peoples, but the rulers of barbarous and foreign nations with their own subjects, will pay great and unusual honour: the saints also even of other Churches will bestow upon it no common veneration.' His biographer Adamnan, writing exactly a century later, quotes the prophecy as fulfilled, and in closing the biography says: 'God has conferred on him this favour, that, though he tarried in this small and remote island of the British ocean, his name has proved worthy not only to be published with distinction throughout the whole of our own Scotia (Ireland) and Britain, the largest island of the whole world, but to reach even unto triangular Spain and the Gauls and Italy, which lies beyond the Pennine Alps, and also the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities.'[1] With the deduction required in interpreting panegyrics, it is certain that the influence of Columba increased greatly after his death, and that the Church which he planted in North Britain came into important relations to English and continental Christianity. Yet before the date at which Adamnan wrote, the expanding activity of that Church had become a matter of the past, and the very characteristics which gave it its celebrity and its temporary strength had set a permanent limit to the range of its operations.

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[1] *Adamnani Vita*, iii. 23, 24.

The Church at Iona was independent and autonomous. Although an offshoot from the Scotic Church in Ireland, it was not in any official or institutional respect an agency of that Church. The Scoto-Irish neither exercised nor claimed authority over it; and, on the other hand, it had no fixed share or responsibility in Scoto-Irish Church affairs.[1] There had been neither schism nor dissent. The Scots in Britain and in Ireland recognized each other's ordinations, exchanged Christian courtesies and showed a friendly interest in each other's welfare. Intercourse was maintained by occasional visits, such as those paid by Columba to Ireland in his later days, and by personal communications between Church leaders as to matters of joint interest. The nearest parallel to the relationship is to be found in sub-Apostolic times, when the more remote Churches regulated their own affairs, yet acknowledged special obligations and affinities to Churches of the same locality or race. The Scotic Church in North Britain had not yet taken a title, for the nation to which it ministered was in embryo and unnamed. It might be described, in New Testament language, as 'the Church of God which was at Iona.' Scotic in origin and in race, but centralized at Iona, it ministered to North Britain without any rivalry and gave shape to its own enterprise.

The succession to Church office was determined, as in most tribal and social institutions, by a type of inheritance.[1] The religious functions of the abbot passed to one of his kindred, nominated by himself and styled the *co-arb*, or joint-heir, as inheriting the lands which the founder had received from the chief of the tribe. The system, which was an Irish one, created much confusion in Ireland in cases where the *co-arb* and the chief of the tribe were of the same kin:[2] but as transplanted to Britain by Columba it rarely gave rise to such complications, his settlements being very loosely related to the chiefs within whose territory they were placed. The abbots who succeeded Columba were men of high character, 'distinguished,' Bede writes, 'for their great continence, their divine love and their orderly method.'[3] Their rule was far from arbitrary. A group of senior monks, who gathered round the abbot as an informal council, advised him in his administration, specially in the selection of missionaries who from year to year were despatched to the heathen districts of the mainland. These missionaries became conspicuous for their integrity, zeal and devoutness, and through their agency the gospel spread rapidly. Sometimes the mission was of a kind which seemed to require a bishop. In such cases the abbot's council selected a suitable monk for the office, but elevation to the episcopate implied no independence.[4] Every daughter settlement, whether its abbot was a bishop or not, was subject to the Abbot of Iona, who himself was not a bishop. The subjection caused no strain; the most distant settlements rejoiced in their dependence upon Iona, and the whole system was permeated by the consciousness of a 'family' relationship. Indeed the word 'system' can be used only with a qualification, for the Church had no system in the technical sense, no resemblance at all either to the episcopal or to the presbyterian organization of modern times. There was nothing of the nature of a diocese or a parish or even a congregation.[1] The unit of Church life was the settlement. Every member of the settlement, even choirman or reader, was a monk. The prior or provost who directed the settlement was the son rather than the servant of the abbot of the parent monastery.[2]

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[1] Although Scoto-Irishmen assisted in the mission described in this chapter, Iona monks took no part in the Scoto-Irish missions, which in the seventh and eighth centuries collided with Church authorities. St. Fursey, son of a South Munster chief, who settled at Lagny near Paris about 644, and Thomeus, bishop of Angoulême about 688, are samples of Scoto-Irishmen held in honour by the Latin Church. In Germany and Gaul many 'episcopi vagantes' of that race were regarded either as heretical or as interfering with Church order. Decrees were passed against them repeatedly in the eighth century, and they were expressly condemned by the second Council of Chalon-sur-Saône. When a Scotic priest in the diocese of Cologne was expelled by Charlemagne for eating meat in Lent, he was sent first to Mercia, then to Ireland, to be judged. These irregularities were due to Scoto-Irishmen exclusively.—Mansi, *Concilia*, xiv. 102; *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Epp., iv. 131; Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 150; *Journal of Theological Studies*, viii. 285.

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[1] Celibacy being strictly enforced at Iona, there could be nothing like hereditary succession.—Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, cviii.

[2] See Reeves in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vi. 447; Skene, ii. 68.

[3] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 4.

[4] In the one case of which we have details (*Ibid.*, iii. 5), it is stated that the Iona monks 'ordained' the bishop, but this must not be pressed as proof that presbyters, *qua* presbyters, conferred episcopal office; some of them may themselves have been bishops. 'Consecration' and 'ordination' were interchangeable words. See below.

Undoubtedly there were exceptions to this cheerful and loyal steadfastness. Now and then a monk was seized with the spirit of extreme asceticism, and broke away from the joint enterprise of the family to seek for that type of sanctity which only utter loneliness can yield. The Catalogue of Saints,[3] already quoted, tells how in Ireland at the end of the sixth century one hundred holy presbyters of the Scotic Church became eremites, despising all earthly things, living on herbs and water and discarding property; and there are surviving tokens of a similar movement on the west coast of Caledonia. In the islands of North Rona and St. Kilda, and on some bleak cliffs of the mainland, traces have come to light of primitive erections—they cannot be called buildings—which may be relics of recluses who in the seventh century fled from human society, in the spirit of the Grazer monks of the Near East, and made them homes with the sea-gull and the wild-cat. And on the other hand, some few sons of Iona cast off their parentage, in order to attach themselves feudally to Pictish chiefs. The legends which record such attachment, or servitude, are too definite and circumstantial to be wholly discarded. Yet they are not numerous, and they represent no steady or consistent enterprise. In the main the authority of Iona was frankly and willingly recognized, and its distinction increased the fame of St. Columba, in whose name miracles were wrought ninety years after his decease.

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[1] In Ireland related communities were grouped into synods, but not in Scotland.—Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i. cxii.

[2] Bede is quite explicit about this.—*H. E.*, iv. 27; *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xvi. For a closer scrutiny of this controversial topic see Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, i. 152.

[3] See page 37.

Of settled opposition to the mission there was little in the north. Tradition tells how fifty monks were murdered by pirates on the island of Eigg near the beginning of the seventh century. The pirates are said to have been led by a pagan queen, but the outrage was in so remote a locality that it had no further consequences. In the south, however, the Christian cause was checked and injured. At Dawstane Rigg (Degsastan), in Liddesdale, the king whom Columba had set over Christian Dalriada was defeated in 603 by Ethelfrid, a pagan king of Northumbria, in a battle which has been called 'the Flodden of the seventh century.' So crushing was the blow that, in the language of Bede, the Christian Scots of Dalriada 'never again dared join battle in Britain with the Angles.'[1] Their territory, the south-west of Caledonia, passed into long-continued insignificance.

Even where there was no opposition, the progress made was limited both in extent and in thoroughness. There was no general acceptance of the Christian faith, nor even a conversion of separate tribes. At the most the result was such as is secured in modern mission fields, when a strong Christian centre is erected and comes to be regarded with some favour by the native races and to be frequented by them in their troubles. The existence of an Iona colony in special localities by no means proves that these localities were Christianized. Sometimes the colonists failed in their endeavours to convert the natives, and, even when they succeeded, they did not organize their converts in Christian communities. Their method of setting forth the gospel served an immediate purpose, but it did not lead to the formation of churches identified with native life. The glory of Iona was in no sense ecclesiastical, and its growing fame consisted in its repute for piety and hospitality. Amidst the wild warfare by which central Britain was distracted, it became known as a shelter in which refugees would find a genial welcome, with instruction in the Christian faith.

One such refugee, who arrived in 617, became agent in the extension of the Iona mission into a region in which it gave proof of its singular efficiency and also met its doom. In order to understand this movement and its eventful results, we must review rapidly the early fortunes of the Church in South Britain.

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, i. 34.

The so-called British Church, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, showed little spiritual force and exercised little ethical and social influence after the withdrawal of the Roman legions. From the date at which Britain was cut off from continental influences (455) until the close of the sixth century, it achieved practically nothing for the conversion of the heathen. Probably it was governed by bishops who met now and then for counsel, but its priests had no evangelizing interests, and it failed to fortify or unite the British tribes which adhered to it in their resistance to the Angles, Jutes and Saxons. Recent historians of the Church of England repudiate the idea of an historical connexion between their Church and early British Christianity and find the origin of the Anglican communion in the mission of St. Augustine, despatched from Rome by Gregory the Great. The date of the arrival of that mission was 597, the year of Columba's death. The coincidence is significant, showing that Columba's personal work was completed and his mission well established before the Roman missionaries set themselves to the conversion of South Britain. At first the success of the latter was rapid. The church of St. Martin at Canterbury 'became a centre of religious activity';[1] the Kentish king Ethelbert was baptized, and Augustine, under Gregory's guidance, gave shape to far-reaching plans. While he proposed to equip a bishopric at York for the conversion of North Britain, he held two conferences, in 602 and 604, with the Christians of West Britain in the hope of securing their alliance. In these conferences, however, he completely failed, owing to the domineering spirit which he showed. In other directions too the brightness of his early efforts faded. Following instructions from Gregory, he adopted a method of accommodation to pagan likings which made the gospel acceptable at first, but deprived it of strength. After Ethelbert's death the men of Kent returned to paganism, and Essex, after a few years' trial of Christianity, abandoned it. Thirty years after Augustine's arrival, at the time when the monks of Iona were steadily carrying forward their founder's enterprise among the Picts and other North Britons, 'the Christianity of the Saxons in the south was still but a sickly and shallow-rooted plant.'[1] In Northumbria and Cumbria the progress of the Roman mission was invisible, no trace of the projected diocese of York appearing. Northumbria was ruled by the strong pagan king, Ethelfrid, who defeated the Christian Scots, as has already been told, in 603, and about ten years later gained a victory over the Britons of Cumbria. Both of these encounters were victories of paganism over Christianity, for the Scots were led by the king whom Columba had crowned, and in the British ranks there were more than a thousand monks from Bangor.

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[1] Hodgkin, *Political History of England*, p. 119.

In 617 Ethelfrid himself was overthrown and slain by a champion of his kinsman Edwin, who thereafter was king of all Northumbria. Edwin was as yet a pagan and had the support of the East Angles, but the change of sceptre became the occasion, if not the cause, of a religious revolution. The sons of Ethelfrid fled to the land of the Celts, and one of them, Oswald, with twelve companions, found refuge in Iona, where he not only was converted but acquired the missionary spirit of the monks. Meanwhile the victorious Edwin consolidated and extended his rule[2] until he became 'the mightiest of all the English kings.' At first his alliances and his policy were pagan, but in 624 he became suitor for the hand of Ethelberga, sister of the Kentish king Eadbald. Both sister and brother were Christian, and they consented to the marriage on condition that Ethelberga should be allowed to retain her faith and to worship as a Christian at the court of Northumbria. In the terms of this stipulation she took in her wedding-train a band of Christian priests headed by Paulinus, one of the heroic bishops of the Anglican Church, under whose guidance Christianity made rapid progress. With York as the centre of his mission, he is said to have baptized thousands of the Northumbrians.[1] His sagacity and vigour gave him growing influence over King Edwin, whom he brought into communication with Pope Boniface V, and in 627 Edwin was baptized in the little church of St. Peter at York. The precise character and extent of the mission of Paulinus lie outside the limits of Scottish Church history.[2] What falls to be noted is that its results were not permanent. In 633 Edwin was overthrown and slain in the battle of Heathfield (Hatfield Chase) by Penda, a savage king of pagan Mercia, who had formed an alliance with the leader of the unconquered tribes of Wales. These tribes were 'British Christians,' but British and Roman Christianity were at this stage hostile forces, and the battle of Heathfield brought the mission of Paulinus to an end. The conquerors ravaged Northumbria without mercy, reducing it to desolation. Paulinus withdrew to the south, leaving behind him only one of his followers, James, a deacon of conspicuous courage and piety. Of this deacon Bede reports that, making his home near Catterick, he 'rescued great spoil from the Old Enemy by teaching and baptizing.' Except where he laboured, both districts of Northumbria, Deira and Bernicia, were again enveloped in paganism.

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[1] Hodgkin, *Political History of England*, p. 129.

[2] His sway reached the Forth, and possibly he gave his name to 'Edinburgh.'

Ethelfrid's eldest son, Eanfrith or Anfrid, apostatized and attempted to rule the northern district; but within a year he was slain by the Britons,[3] and the darkness seemed to be final, when his younger brother Oswald returned from Iona 'with a small army and fortified by the faith of Christ.'[4] His cause was avowedly religious, and the Bernicians rallied round him with an enthusiasm which showed that their lapse into paganism had been only superficial. Encouraged and guided by a vision of St. Columba, he with his own hands raised a wooden cross as his standard at Heavenfield, close to the great Roman Wall, promised his followers victory in the name of the living and true God, led them in prayer and swept down like a tornado upon the unsuspecting Britons. His triumph was complete. Henceforward, the Welsh chronicler sadly admits, 'the Britons lost and the Saxons gained the crown of the kingdom.'

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[1] Nennius relates that twelve thousand persons were converted in forty days. —*Historia Brittonum*, c. 65.

[2] Rait's statement (*Making of Scotland*, p. 8) that 'the Angles of Lothian were converted by Paulinus and adopted Roman Christianity' is not substantiated.

[3] A cousin, Osric, who became king of Deira, also apostatized and was slain by the Britons.

[4] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 1.

While the victory had great political and racial results, its religious consequences were immediate and momentous. Oswald rapidly mastered Deira as well as Bernicia, and from his residence at Bamburgh ruled the re-united kingdom for seven years. Of his political and military career the details are almost unknown, although he was so successful that Adamnan declares him to have been 'the divinely appointed ruler of the whole of Britain,' and Bede alleges that he received under his sway 'all the nations and provinces—Britons, Picts, Scots and Angles.' But the character and extent of his religious policy are unmistakable. He had come from Iona in the spirit of a missionary and, until his death in 642, his dominating aim was the evangelization of his subjects. With continental Christianity—the Christianity of St. Augustine and Paulinus—he had had no relations, and he turned naturally to those through whom he had received the truth. Immediately after his accession he applied to the 'elders'[1] at Iona for a bishop (*antistes*) who would impart to the English 'the gifts and sacraments of faith.' The first missionary sent in response to the appeal failed in his mission and soon returned to report that the English were intractable, obdurate and barbarous. When the monks met in council (*conventus seniorum*) to deal with the perplexing report, one of them, Aidan by name, said to the missionary: 'It seems to me, brother, that you have been unduly hard upon your uneducated hearers, and that you have not fed them, as the Apostle enjoined, with the milk of the word, so that by graded nutriment they might receive complete teaching and obey the loftier precepts of the Lord.' Every eye was fixed upon Aidan; all declared that he was the true missionary for Northumbria, 'and so,' says Bede, 'ordaining him,[1] they sent him forth to preach.'

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[1] So Bede: 'maiores natu Scottorum.'—*H. E.*, iii. 3. *Ibid.*, iii. 5, he speaks of them as 'collegium monachorum.'

Whether Aidan was made bishop by the 'elders' or by a bishop, events fully proved that he was spiritually consecrated. Oswald found in him an eager and unwearying ally, possessed of the faculties and qualities required. The mission assumed a character to which history presents few parallels, king and priest being absolutely at one in seeking to promote Christianity. Aidan turned aside from the idea of founding a religious capital or clerical court at York and made his home on the island of Lindisfarne, where he could reproduce the simplicity and devout privacy of Iona, while within easy reach both of the king's dwelling at Bamburgh and of the pagans to whom he had a mission. He sought for no ecclesiastical sanction and recognized no superior except the Abbot of Iona. He was a missionary of the Scotic Church and worked in the lines with which the operations of that Church had always been identified. Although exercising episcopal functions, he had no diocese. It was as Abbot of Lindisfarne and Bishop of Northumbria, appointed and commissioned by the parent monastery, that for sixteen years (635-51) he extended and established the Church of the Angles.[2]

There is no man whose name should be more carefully detached from controversy. His Christian gentleness enabled him to adhere steadfastly to Scotic usages without giving offence. Bede, by whom these usages were condemned, is unsparing in his praise of Aidan's character, doctrine and methods. 'His keeping of Easter at a wrong date I do not approve of or praise . . . but this I do approve of, that in keeping his own Easter he pondered, revered and preached, as we do, the redemption of mankind through the passion, resurrection and ascension of the Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ.'[1] He praises him for his kindliness and peacefulness, his temperance and humility, his zeal in study and prayer, his skill in consoling the sorrowful and relieving the poor and his courage in rebuking the proud and powerful. 'His grace of discretion marked him out for the mission; but when the time came he was found to be adorned with every other excellence.' At Lindisfarne Aidan enforced industry, sobriety and devout habits, reaching a level of discipline and piety as high at least as that of monasticism in any age or land. On his missionary tours, which were usually made on foot, he so combined fervent evangelical teaching with gracious deeds of charity that the people flocked round him as a father and a friend. The offerings which the rich tendered to him passed at once without deduction into the hands of the poor, and rich and poor turned willingly at his request to the building of churches. When he or one of his scholars arrived at a township, the people thronged around him, begging him to declare the Word. They knew well that he had come for the sake of their souls, and that nothing was further from his thoughts than to gain anything for himself.

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[1] See note on page 71. Bright holds that 'ordaining' must mean 'causing to be ordained.'—*Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 141 f.

[2] 'Lindisfarne,' says Hunt, 'was an episcopal see as well as a monastery.' Yet Aidan's church was 'in the province of the Abbot of Iona, the head and stronghold of the Church.'—*History of the English Church*, p. 78. It is misleading to speak of him as Bishop of Lindisfarne. 'He was sent,' writes Bede, 'by the college of monks to build up the province of the Angles in Christ, having received the rank of bishop.' His successor, Finan, was appointed to the abbacy and ordained at Iona by the Scots.—Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 5, 17, 25. See below.

The mission had the eager support of royalty, tendered without condescension. King Oswald often acted as Aidan's interpreter when he preached, before he had mastered the English language, and supported him with unsparing liberality. After Oswald's death in 642, Aidan found in Oswin, who became king of Deira, a not less devout and modest ally. On one occasion Oswin, wishing to save Aidan from the fatigue of the rough Yorkshire paths, presented him with a fine horse; but soon afterwards Aidan, touched by the necessities of a poor traveller, handed over to him the horse with all its rich trappings. The king blamed him rather sharply, but Aidan answered: 'What say you, O King? Is that son of a mare worth more in your eyes than that son of God?' The monarch threw himself at Aidan's feet, begging pardon and saying: 'Never again will I mention this, or judge as to what or how much of our money you bestow on sons of God.' Such incidents show that the Iona mission was as free from the intrigues and servilities which disfigure much of the evangelism of those ages as from the pedantry of churchmanship and the deteriorating methods of paganized ritualism.[1] Aidan was, writes Lightfoot, 'the earliest embodiment of the independent spirit which culminated in the Reformation.'

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 17.

The character of Aidan was of the kind that impresses itself upon followers. The numerous Iona monks who reinforced his mission, and the English boys whom he trained for the ministry at Lindisfarne, were marked by the same simple fervour and devoutness. The mission spread rapidly, pervading to some extent all the provinces of the Angles from the Thames to the Forth.[2] Its northward extension, although for our purpose the most important, is the most difficult to trace. Yet two settlements, which proved influential in the conversion of Scotland, must be ascribed to the personal influence of Aidan. At Coldingham, ten miles north of the Tweed and one mile from the German Ocean, a 'double monastery' was founded about 640, and placed under the superintendence of King Oswald's sister Ebba. Those 'double' settlements, with separate dwellings for men and women, were conspicuous for their fervid piety when first founded, although the hazard of the system became manifest afterwards. Thirty miles further north, on a flat promontory (*Mail-ros*) at a bend in the river Tweed, a more important mission centre was planted, known now as Old Melrose, to distinguish it from the Cistercian abbey of Melrose two miles distant. The date of the foundation is uncertain, but in 651 it had as its abbot Eata, one of a group of English boys trained by Aidan at the beginning of his Lindisfarne mission. In that year, the year of Aidan's death, Cuthbert, a young shepherd who, in Lightfoot's language, was destined to gain 'an ascendancy and fame which no churchman north of the Humber has surpassed or even rivalled,' was admitted to monastic orders by the Abbot of Melrose. The date and place of Cuthbert's birth are unknown.[1] He is first heard of among the monks of Tiningham, near Dunbar, and thereafter as herding sheep on the Lammermuir hills. Of a fanciful temperament, he loved solitude and the friendship of dumb creatures, but he was drawn into Christian service by visions of heaven and onslaughts of demons. In the work of the Melrose mission, which occupied him, with one interruption, for thirteen years, he disclosed notable persuasiveness in teaching and discrimination in estimating character, with moral nobility and religious intensity. As a pioneer missionary he was unwearied, travelling from hamlet to hamlet, alone or with a single attendant, in districts where Christianity was all but unknown and where the few who had accepted the faith betook themselves to pagan magic in their times of trouble. Preferring to labour among those whom other monks feared to approach, he evangelized the Angles who had settled on the coasts, and the wild Brigantes of the uplands. He is said to have traversed Nithsdale, his influence in the south-west being recorded in the word 'Kirk-Cudbright,' and it may be that he journeyed as far north as Dull in Atholl. Although we cannot trace the lines of the mission clearly, its success is indisputable. The district known afterwards as the Lothians was for the first time impregnated with Christianity, if not Christianized. The mission was as distinctly Scotic as the missions which came direct from Iona to the mainland. While pervaded by the same cordial and enterprising spirit, it adhered closely to the usages of Columba. When in 661 Cuthbert was taken south by Eata to act as 'hospitaller' to a new monastery at Ripon, and came for the first time into contact with representatives of the Roman Church, he refused to accept their usages and in a few months returned to Melrose,[1] preferring to work for the Iona mission under the rule of the Abbot of Lindisfarne.[2]

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[1] Aidan was 'untouched by the influences of the continental Church atmosphere, and his followers stood aloof from ecclesiastical civilization.'—Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 152. Cf. Lightfoot, *Leaders of the Northern Church*, p. 53.

[2] 'Churches were built . . . lands were given for religious purposes: monasteries and schools were founded, where English children were taught by Celtic missionaries from Ireland and from the Scottish coast.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

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[1] The Irish have claimed Cuthbert as a countryman, but without foundation.

It was, however, south of the Tweed that the Church of Iona had at this stage its main operations and won its chief glory. Aidan's successors at Lindisfarne, Finan (651-61) and Colman (661-4), both of whom were appointed by the Council of Seniors at Iona, were men of admirable character and deep piety, and under their direction the tone of the monastery was maintained[3] and its missions advanced rapidly. Among the youths trained at Lindisfarne in the thirty years covered by the administration of the first three abbots, the brothers Ceadd (Chad) and Cedd[4] were specially gifted as preachers, but all the missionaries were marked by earnestness, simplicity and devoutness, and the doctrines which they proclaimed were those which have always been most effective in the conversion of polytheists—the unity and omnipotence of God, the atoning sacrifice of Christ and the assured immortality of believers.

Their mission, although a definitely moral and spiritual one, was undoubtedly furthered by its identification with the growing power of Northumbria and by its relation to political developments, which can briefly be indicated. Oswald, as we have seen, extended his rule until he became practically master of Britain, but in 642 he was defeated and slain at Maserfield in Shropshire by Penda of Mercia, the last great champion of paganism.[1] The two divisions of Northumbria then fell apart, Bernicia being ruled by Oswy and Deira by Oswin. Strife arose between them, and in 651 Oswin was killed, a few days before the death of his saintly ally Aidan. Pagan hopes now rested upon Penda, and for a time he triumphed, driving the Northumbrians northwards as far as the Firth of Forth.[2] But in 655 Oswy rallied his forces and gained a great and final victory on the banks of the Winwaed, a stream of the West Riding.[3] The battle of Winwaed, like Oswald's victory at Heavenfield, was decisive in religious history. In accordance with a vow made before the battle, Oswy consecrated his daughter to virginity and endowed twelve monasteries in Northumbria. Thereafter he set himself to a zealous promotion of the Christian cause, to which there was now no solid opposition. Even before Penda's death Christianity had to some extent been tolerated in Mercia, and Penda's son Peada, king of the Mid-Angles, had been baptized. Now both of these kingdoms were placed under Scotic bishops, appointed at Lindisfarne and acknowledging Iona as their home. Meanwhile the East Saxons had yielded to Oswy's zeal and to the preaching of Cedd, the Lindisfarne missionary. Although the West Saxons owed their conversion to a Roman monk, Birinus, Oswald had been godfather to the child of their first Christian king. Thus in all parts of the island, except Kent and East Anglia, the Christianity which gained ground was either Northumbrian in origin or was fostered and protected by Northumbrian influences.[4] In the words of Montalembert: 'From the cloisters of Lindisfarne, and from the heart of those districts in which the popularity of ascetic pontiffs such as Aidan, and martyr kings such as Oswald and Oswin, took day by day a deeper root, Northumbrian Christianity spread over the southern kingdoms. . . . Everywhere we see the influence of Celtic priests and missionaries reaching districts which their predecessors had never been able to enter. The stream of the divine Word extended itself from north to south, and its slow but certain course reached in succession all the people of the heptarchy.'[1] 'Where Rome failed,' writes the most learned of modern Anglicans, 'Iona stepped in . . . and bore the chief part in the making of the English Church.'[2]

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[1] On the death of Boisil, whose name is preserved in the little town of 'St. Boswells,' Cuthbert became prior.

[2] The later conversion of Cuthbert to the Roman customs has been allowed to conceal the fact that in his prime he was a Scotic evangelist.

[3] When Finan erected a church, he built it of logs of wood thatched with reeds.—Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 25. This primitive building may be regarded, according to Lightfoot, as the mother church of the stately cathedral of Durham.

[4] Cedd, who was consecrated 'bishop to the race of East Saxons,' lived in monasteries and had no see.—*Ibid.*, iii. 22. Ceadd was trained as an Irish monk and did not become a bishop till 666, when the glory of the Iona mission had faded.

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[1] See page 76.

[2] He seems to have reached Dalmeny and Iudeu (Giudi) on the Forth.

[3] Some authorities would place Winwaed in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh.

[4] There was one interesting exception. Deacon James (see page 76) at Catterick adhered steadfastly to Rome, and became 'a master of church singing in the style of the Romans and the men of Kent' (*i.e.* Gregorian).—Bede, *H. E.*, ii. 20.

The movement was not merely insular. The Scotic Church in Ireland was at this time in her glory, rich in culture, productive in learning, pure and gracious in the domestic life which she fostered. The same stream of truth had been led by Columbanus across western Europe, had settled in the soil of Switzerland and Italy and had risen at St. Gall and Bobbio in springs of fresh and welcome promise. 'It seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West.'[3]

The swiftness with which Christianity had laid hold of central England would be incredible if it were not substantiated beyond dispute. Bede alleges that he has ascertained that when in 634 Oswald erected the Cross as his standard 'there was not in the whole kingdom of Bernicia a single sign of the Christian faith, a single church or a single altar.'[4] When thirty years had passed, Bernicia was not only permeated by Christianity, but had become 'the centre and focus of Christian light to England.'

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[1] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iv. 88.

[2] Lightfoot, p. 5. Lightfoot's estimate has been challenged but not refuted. The fact remains that 'over five-sixths of Christian Britain the authority of Rome was not acknowledged.'—Wakeman, *Introduction to Hist. of Church of England*, 7th ed., p. 31.

[3] Green, *Short History of the English People*, i. 322.

[4] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 2.

There is indeed no mystery in the success of the mission. The character of the missionaries reached a singularly high level and was maintained with rare consistency. Columba's personality had many Celtic blemishes, but in his successors these disappeared. Of violence, contentiousness and dogmatism, the besetting sins of monks, they showed no sign. Their Church usages were severely judged by hostile contemporaries, but the judgments passed upon them include no charge of immorality, slothfulness or personal ambition. On the contrary their intense zeal, their genuine humility, their scriptural and evangelical fidelity are attested by every witness, and in their case the industrial and secular energies of monasticism seem to have been strictly subordinated to its spiritual intention, while in frank truthfulness and genuine tolerance they contrast favourably with the most famous of the monastic Orders. Withal they showed a spirit of personal religion and of individual responsibility, an indifference to officialdom and ritual, and a steadiness of Christian purpose which invest their work with a halo brighter than that of romance. 'It was,' writes Bishop Lightfoot, 'a golden age of saintliness such as England would never see again.' In the thirteen centuries that have passed since then, the highest types of Church piety and evangelical fervour, both in England and in Scotland, have been too often blurred by national peculiarities. It was when Christian life permeated Britain from one Church source that its persuasive power was greatest and its character most free from stain and offence.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOSE OF THE IONA MISSION

664

Differences between Celtic and Latin Churches — Easter-date and Tonsure—Advance of Roman influence—St. Wilfrid—Debate and decision at Whitby—Scotic monks withdraw from England—Roman usages accepted in Pictland—Iona brought over—Close of mission to South Britain.

THE Church of Columba had no connexion, organic or personal, with the Church of Rome. In its Irish home a tradition arose that St. Patrick had been a living link, but that link, if more than legendary,[1] disappeared immediately after St. Patrick's death. In Adamnan's *Life of Columba* Rome is not mentioned, and Bede in his minute account of the Scotic mission does not indicate a single point at which Columba or Aidan was influenced by Rome in any way. These omissions cannot be minimized as 'mere arguments from silence.' Both Adamnan and Bede were zealous advocates of Roman usages, who would gladly have recorded any indication that a Church which they honoured highly had originally been 'Catholic.' It is true that long before the seventh century Rome had claimed authority over western Christendom, but the claim was not known in Iona. The Church of Columba had developed a distinctive organism, not in any spirit of antagonism but in accordance with the racial conditions and the special needs of North Britain. Bishops, as we have seen,[2] had not the same place as in the Roman hierarchy, being under the direction of abbots and councils of 'seniors.' Monastic life was so differently regulated that it proved impossible to establish a *modus vivendi* between its followers and monks of the Roman Orders. Behind such local peculiarities lay the fact that the Church of Columba was a branch of the Celto-Irish-British Church, or group of Churches, and bore its specific features. Most of these appeared in methods of administration and details of worship. Thus consecration required only a single bishop for validity, baptism was administered by one immersion, not by triple sprinkling,[1] and churches were dedicated to their founders, not to departed saints. Church buildings had, as a later chapter will show, peculiarities of size and structure, and the ritual of worship had a character of its own, allowing considerable variety in collects and prayers. Such differences, if unimportant separately, combined to mark off Celtic from Latin worship, and the Church of Columba was Celtic.

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[1] See page 36.

[2] See pages 54 and 71. Bishops were 'subject to the abbot of Iona'; they were 'ministers of ordination under the direction of the abbot.'—Grub, i. 154.

Two deviations, although also matters of cultus, proved crucial and must therefore be specially explained—the date of Easter and the method of tonsure.

In the second and third centuries, east and west had been at variance about the date of the Christian Passover, the easterns observing on the 14th of Nisan, on whichever day of the week the 14th might fall, and the westerns observing always on a Sunday; but a settlement was reached at the First Œcumenical Council by the acceptance of the western usage.[2] The divergence of the Celtic Church from the Latin was of a wholly different kind, and was due to changes made by the Latin Church in her method of calculating the date of Easter. A calculation was necessary, because the date was dependent upon the relation of the lunar month Nisan to the solar year, which could be forecast only by an astronomical reckoning based upon a cycle, or recurring period of years. Until the middle of the fifth century Rome used an eighty-four years' cycle,[1] which proved faulty and confusing, while Alexandria adhered to a more accurate cycle of nineteen years. In 460 or 463 a change was made to a cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years, and this again was superseded about 525 by the Table of Dionysius, a nineteen years' cycle like that of Alexandria. These changes were made after a good deal of keen discussion, but no religious question was involved, and uniformity was not enjoined by Rome till the end of the sixth century.[2] Meanwhile the Celts adhered to the very oldest form of the Latin cycle,[3] a form which Rome had abandoned in 343, and carried it with them as a principle not only to Britain but to Gaul, Italy and Switzerland. A further difference had arisen.[4] The Roman Church, in order to avoid keeping Easter on the date of the Jewish Passover, celebrated on the 20th when the 14th of Nisan fell on a Sunday, whereas the Celts had no such rule. The result was that for the Celts Easter-day was sometimes on the 14th and never later than the 20th, while the Roman celebration varied between the 15th and the 21st.[5] The Easter date regulated the whole Church year, and in England, where the two Churches were now side by side, the difference, which was certainly confusing, was regarded as very grave. The Romans stigmatized the Celtic usage as 'Jewish'; but the charge was groundless, the real offence being that the Celts had not changed with Rome.

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[1] The divergence as to Baptism has been debated. In the *Stowe Missal* and in hagiology there are references to trine aspersion or immersion. The difference may have been that the Celts (1) omitted chrism from the sacrament, or (2) did not administer communion to the newly baptized, or (3) washed the feet of all baptized persons. In any case their baptism was reckoned heretical by Romanists.—Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 27, 122; H. A. Wilson in Mason's *Mission of St. Augustine*; Howorth, *Augustine the Missionary*, p. 150 ff.

[2] The failure of the decision of Nice to secure uniformity is explained in Hefele, *History of Councils*, i. 293-332; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 152-3; *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, *s.v.* 'Easter.'

In the other conspicuous difference between the Churches—

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[1] 'Supputatio Romana': there were two forms, the original being revised in 343.

[2] Perhaps not till the Council of Orleans in 641.

[3] The suggestion of de Rossi, that the British bishops who were at Arles in 314 brought the usage back to Britain, seems to be needless. At that time Roman usages were generally followed in the west.

[4] The date is quite uncertain. A third difference arose from the fact that the Britons placed the vernal equinox on March 25, the Romans on March 21; this occasionally gave rise to a whole lunar month's difference.

[5] To the Celts observance on the 21st or 22nd of the moon, when light 'was becoming shorter than darkness,' seemed incongruous with a commemoration of the Lord's resurrection.—*Mon. Germ. Hist.* Epp., iii. 157-8.

their different styles of tonsure—it was equally impossible for Rome to make a fair appeal to tradition. The shaving of the hair of the head as a symbol of clerical office was not a Church custom until the end of the fifth century, but it became usual in the sixth century, when the 'corona clerici' appears on a Ravenna mosaic. It was advocated sometimes as a memorial of the crown of thorns, sometimes as a prophetic emblem of the unfading crown of glory,[1] and it made way through the same influences which led the clergy to assume professional dress. In 633 the Fourth Council of Toledo enjoined clerics to shave the whole front part of their heads, leaving only a narrow fringe at the neck, and passed censure upon the custom, which in modern Rome is orthodox, of shaving 'only a little space.' In the Eastern Church indeed the head was completely shaved—a style which was known as St. Paul's tonsure to distinguish it from the western (St. Peter's). But the Celtic Churches differed from both of these. Celtic monks shaved only the forehead, in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, leaving long locks behind.[2] It may be, as Sir John Rhys has surmised,[3] that this was the remnant of a druid practice, but in any case it was as ancient as the Latin 'corona' and it was valued as a racial badge. While Latin churchmen spoke of it as 'the tonsure of Simon Magus,'[4] the Celts themselves, tracing it to the beloved Apostle, styled it 'the tonsure of St. John.'

Although these differences were real and manifest, they did not go deep. They had none of the sharpness of 'schism' or even of 'dissent,' the divergence being involuntary and not resting upon any principle. Between the beliefs of the two Churches there was no vital difference.

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[1] Old Testament sanction for the usage was found in the facts that Joseph 'shaved himself' and that Job 'shaved his head.'—*Genesis* xli. 14; *Job* i. 20.

[2] Dowden (*Celtic Church*, p. 241 ff.; *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries* for 1895-6, p. 325) argues learnedly but not convincingly that the Celtic tonsure was a curtailed or imperfect circle visible only from the front. A similar view is held by Loofs (*Antiquae Britannorum Scotorumque Ecclesiae*, p. 21) and by Bright (*The Roman See and the Early Church*, p. 414).

[3] *Celtic Britain*, p. 72.

[4] Simon Magus had a place among the purposeless wanderers who were fabled to have made their way to Ireland. He was known among Celts as Simon the Druid, the constructor of the Wheel of Light.—Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 210 ff.; *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, cxxiii.

Now and then the Britons were charged with Arianism and the Irish-Scots with Pelagianism, but there is no evidence that the charges were well grounded. Their beliefs were those of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds,[1] and their piety, while it had its own characteristics, was in line with the piety of the true saints of the Latin Church. As late as 680, when strife had arisen, one of their bitterest foes declared on oath at Rome before a Church Council that 'the true and catholic faith was held in every part of Britain and Ireland and in the islands inhabited by Angles, Britons, Scots and Picts.'[2] It is true that at the end of the sixth century the Scotic mission in Burgundy and Switzerland came into sharp collision with the Gallic clergy and even with the popes,[3] but the collision had no counterpart in North Britain. The temper of Columba and his followers was essentially catholic. They loved the methods and usages which they had inherited, but when in central England they came into contact with Christians otherwise instructed they willingly ignored the differences and joined hands with them against paganism. Until Aidan died in 651 there was no sign of antagonism.

Yet for half a century discord had been taking shape. Gregory the Great had given Latin Christianity a character and tone incompatible with those variations of ritual which he personally was willing to tolerate. His principles proved more effective than his precepts. His disciple Augustine,[4] within five years of his landing on the Isle of Thanet, set himself to bring the Brito-Celtic Church under the Roman Obedience and, although he failed,[5] his successor Laurentius not only renewed the appeal to the Britons but addressed himself in the same cause to the Scots of Ireland. The

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[1] The creeds preserved in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* and other such sources differ in no leading dogma from the catholic versions.

[2] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 51.

[3] Warren, *Celtic Church*, p. 37. Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 370) minimizes the antagonism. See page 44 and Barnby, *Epistles of Gregory*, ix. 127.

[4] 'There is little or no evidence that the Celtic Church was in antagonism to either the Roman or any other Church before Augustine made it so.'—A. W. Haddan, quoted by Howorth, *Augustine the Missionary*, p. 144.

[5] The British Church diverged from the Latin in weightier matters—notably in failure to evangelize. Of these divergences there was no trace in the Scotic Church, which was pre-eminently evangelistic.

Britons were obdurate, but the South Irish yielded when, in 628, Pope Honorius I urged upon them that 'they with their small numbers living in a remote land should not think themselves wiser than the ancient and modern Churches throughout the world.' Between 630 and 636 the greater part of South Ireland acknowledged the authority of Rome, one of the converts, Cummian, addressing a learned apology for this defection from Celticism to Seghine, the fifth abbot of Iona.[1] In 640 Seghine, with eleven other Scotic churchmen, engaged in a futile correspondence with Rome, but neither in Ireland nor in North Britain was there any further advance towards unity for half a century. It was in England that the contest between Latin and Celtic Christianity was decided.

While the evangelizing of central Britain by the Scotic monks advanced, the influence of the mission founded by Augustine moved steadily northwards. Its most effective agencies were social and political. Oswy of Bernicia married a princess Eanfled, who had been trained in Roman usages, and who brought with her a chaplain (Romanus) of like mind. He had as his allies the faithful deacon James,[2] and a still more skilful propagandist, Ronan, a Scot by birth, who had been educated in Italy or Gaul. Alchfrith, son of Oswy, who had been appointed by his father under-king of Deira, yielded to these influences. The Scotic monks themselves were affected. Young men trained in the rigid piety of Lindisfarne desired and found a wider outlook. In intercourse with southerners they gained ideals which were not fully met by evangelistic work among the heathen. The conception of unity, religious unity and national unity, took possession of their minds. The very success of evangelism seemed to create a need for something more. For the completion of her own work, the Church must have shape, order, dignity. She must conform to the ways of the rest of Christendom. It was not among Roman ecclesiastics, but among the eager scholars of the Scots, that this conception found its most effective advocates.

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[1] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, lxxxvii. 969.

[2] See pages 76 and 83 n. 4.

Foremost among these was Wilfrid, a handsome, well-born and ambitious young Northumbrian (b. 634), who, after three years of the Lindisfarne discipline, withdrew from its limitations and, by the aid of Queen Eanfled, found a home at the court of Kent, where his ascetic temper and his love for Roman ritual developed. In his twentieth year he crossed to Gaul and, after a lengthy residence at the famous Church establishment of Lyons, made his way to Rome, where, under the tuition of Boniface, he gained close familiarity with the Roman ritual, became a monk of the Benedictine Order and was honoured with the special commendation of Pope Eugenius I. Returning to Lyons, he received the Roman tonsure and pursued his studies in ritual for three years, being in such high favour with the archbishop that he was regarded as his heir and seemed destined for a high career in the Gallic Church; but in 658 his patron was beheaded in a local persecution, and Wilfrid, escaping with difficulty, made his way back to Northumbria, now a devoted churchman of the most unswerving Latin type. He was welcomed by King Alchfrith, who required guidance in his efforts to promote the Roman usages, and received from him the gift of a monastery at Stanford.[1] Presently he was transferred to the wealthier foundation of Ripon, where he received priest's orders and in 661 became abbot, the Scotic monks headed by Eata and Cuthbert withdrawing sadly to their former settlement at Melrose.[2] Under Wilfrid, Ripon became a Benedictine settlement and a powerful centre of the growing Latin churchmanship of Deira.

In the very year of Wilfrid's settlement at Ripon, the guidance of the Scotic mission from Lindisfarne passed into the hands of Colman, appointed abbot and bishop[3] by the Seniors of Iona, a mild, simple, but highly conservative and scrupulous man, who had neither the attractive graciousness of Aidan nor the persistency which had marked his immediate predecessor Finan. It is difficult to conceive a

[1] Probably Stamford in Lincolnshire.

[2] See page 82.

[3] On consecration at Iona see pages 71 n. 4 and 78.

man less qualified to resist Wilfrid's diplomacy. A collision between the two Churches was inevitable. Deira under King Alchfrith was increasingly Romanized, while in Bernicia his father Oswy favoured the northern Church. Yet the unity of the two kingdoms was politically important. Indeed throughout the heptarchy the sense of common interests was growing. Hitherto that growing sense had been largely due to Christianity, but now it seemed to be checked by Christian rivalries. Bede with his charming simplicity represents the crisis as arising through confusion caused in the domesticities of the court of Bernicia by the twofold date of Easter. 'When the king's fast was over and he was keeping the Lord's feast, the queen and her attendants were still fasting and celebrating the day of palms.' But deeper influences were working. Oswy was urged to bring discord to an end by a friend of Wilfrid's, Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, a learned churchman trained in France, who was zealous in the cause of Rome. Acting on his counsel, Oswy in 664 convened a meeting, which proved so decisive in the history of the Church in Britain that the words in which the historian describes the occasion must be quoted. After recording a visit of Agilbert to Northumbria, he proceeds:—

> 'A question having arisen there about Easter or tonsure or other ecclesiastical matters, it was arranged that a synod should be held and this question brought to an end in the monastery at Streanaeshalc (the modern Whitby), over which at that time the Abbess Hilda, a woman consecrated to God, presided. And there came thither both the kings, father and son: of bishops, Colman with his clerics from Scottia and Agilbert with the presbyters Agatho and Wilfrid. James and Romanus, the queen's chaplain, were on the side of the latter. Hilda the abbess with her followers was on the side of the Scots, on which also was the revered bishop Cedd, who had been ordained by the Scots and who at that council proved himself a most careful interpreter for both sides.'[1]

King Oswy, who presided at the synod, opened the discussion by intimating that they must set themselves to ascertain which of the two Easter usages was supported by the truer tradition and by inviting Colman to state his case. Colman declared that he adhered to the date observed by those who had appointed him to office, by all his pious ancestors, by the Apostle whom Jesus loved and by the Churches over which St. John had presided. To this Wilfrid replied: 'The Easter which we celebrate we have seen celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul lived, suffered and were buried. We have seen the same in Gaul, through which we have journeyed for purposes of learning and devotion. This is the usage of Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece and the whole world wherever Christ's Church has spread. Only these men and their allies in obstinacy, the Picts and the Britons, the natives of some portions of two remote islands are stupidly resisting the whole world.' Colman retorted somewhat feebly: 'Strange that you should call us stupid for following the disciple who lay on Jesus' bosom.' Wilfrid pounced upon the retort. The Scots did not follow the Johannine practice; they observed Easter always on a Sunday, whereas the Ephesian Churches observed on a week-day when the 14th of Nisan fell on one. 'John accommodated himself to Jewish Christians, but his successors did not maintain his practice; you follow neither Law nor Gospel.' As criticism of the Scots, the argument was telling, but Wilfrid kept out of sight the fact that twice at least the Roman system had been changed.[1] Indeed he rested his whole case upon the groundless idea that the popes of the seventh century preserved faithfully the tradition of the Apostle Peter. Yet the bustling ecclesiastic, who had paced the quadrangles of Lyons and made a study of the arcana of Rome, was far too strong for the unworldly abbot, who was in truth but partially acquainted with the Fathers and distinctly provincial in his outlook. Colman could only reply by quoting a doubtful canon and by asking with pathetic earnestness if it was possible that Columba and his successors, men whose piety was attested by their miracles, could have acted contrary to Scripture. 'As for your father Columba and his followers,' Wilfrid sharply said, 'I might reply that in the last day many will be rejected by Christ who claim to have prophesied and cast out devils in His name. But let me not so speak of your fathers, since it is far fairer to believe good than evil of unknown men. I deny not that they were servants of God, beloved by Him; they loved Him with rustic simplicity but with a pious intention. . . . If they had been shown the truth they would have accepted it, as you are now called to do. Although your fathers were holy, can a handful of men, living in a single corner of a remote island, be preferred to the universal Church? And if that Columba of yours (of ours, I may say, if he was Christ's) was a saint and powerful in his goodness, can he be set above the most blessed Prince of the Apostles to whom the Lord says, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, and I shall give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 25. The English language would be unintelligible both to Scots and to Franks.

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[1] See page 88.

The above is an abbreviated paraphrase of Bede's narrative, the conclusion of which calls for literal translation as typical of the thought of the times.[1]

> 'When Wilfrid gave this peroration, the king said, "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken by the Lord to that Peter?" "True it is, O King." "Have you," the king continued, "any such authority assigned to your Columba to quote?" "Nothing," Colman answered. "Do both of you then agree without any controversy that these things were said mainly to Peter and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given him by the Lord?" "Yes," they replied, "we agree." Thereupon the king pronounced: "I say to you that this is a door-keeper whom I will not contradict. So far as I have knowledge and power, I desire in all things to obey his statutes, lest perchance, when I reach the door of the kingdom of heaven, there be no one to open it, he who is proved to hold the keys having turned away." When the king spake thus,

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[1] Yet H. O. Wakeman thinks that King Oswy must have been joking, and actually alleges that he laughed.—*Introduction to History of Church of England*, p. 33.

those who stood and sat beside him, great and small, approved and, discarding the less perfect institution, hastened to adopt the cause which they recognized as best. When the conflict was closed and the assembly dismissed, Agilbert returned to his home; and Colman, seeing that his doctrine was scorned and his sect despised, gathered round him those who were willing to follow, that is, those who were unwilling to receive the catholic Easter and the tonsure of the crown (for on this point too the discussion was not slight), and retired into Scottia to deliberate with his own people what he ought to do in this matter.'[1]

The significance of this decision is shown by the fact that Northumbria at once came under the power of Rome. Tuda, an advocate of the Roman usage, was consecrated as 'bishop of the Northumbrians,' and on his death Wilfrid was appointed his successor. The seat of the bishopric was changed from the secluded island to the central and commanding site chosen by Paulinus at York, and Wilfrid gained leave to travel to Gaul to receive 'catholic' consecration from legitimate bishops.[2] The most important adherents of the Church of Columba, showing a very remarkable docility, conformed to Rome without demur.

Leaving the religious development of Northumbria for another chapter, we may follow the mission of Iona to its swift extinction.

The departure of Colman from Lindisfarne was marked by a touchingly generous spirit. Although all the Iona monks and thirty of his Northumbrian converts went with him, some English monks remained, not being bound to the customs of Columba by the same strong traditions. For their spiritual welfare Colman was deeply concerned. He left with them some of the bones of Aidan as a benediction, and begged the king to place at their head a man of the old school, who would not vex them by insisting upon close conformity to the new-fangled ways of Rome. The king, whose heart was with the Scots, gladly assented and appointed a Scot, Eata, abbot of Melrose, detaching Lindisfarne from the control of the new bishop. Another significant incident is that some Benedictines from the south hastened to take possession of the vacant dwellings on the island, expecting to find many comforts and treasures in the homes of monks whose fame was so great. They found only rude huts without either cellars or store-houses. The Scotic monks, far from amassing treasure and acquiring flocks and herds, had not even built themselves permanent dwellings. In such respects they were too unworldly for the half-secular function which the Church was at that time called to discharge in England.

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 25, 26.

[2] Bede calmly recognizes that, as the result of the decision, there was in all Britain only one bishop 'canonically ordained.'—*Ibid.*, iii. 28.

When Colman and his followers reached Iona, they made no attempt to renew the mission to England. It seems to have been recognized, quietly and without resentment, that that branch of service was ended. Colman took his little company across to Ireland and settled some of them on the island of Innisboffin and others in a monastery at Mayo. He died in 676,[1] leaving a stainless and honourable name. The Iona community, which was singularly free from a spirit of antagonism, maintained friendly relations with King Oswy and with the Northumbrians generally, and directed their missionary enterprises to the western islands and the extreme north of Britain. In those districts they continued to progress for thirty or forty years, being reinforced by evangelists from Ireland. Maelrubha, a Pict from the monastery of Bangor, founded in 671 an influential settlement at Applecross, where he commanded the entrance to Pictland and was within easy reach of the northern Hebrides. His evangelism extended widely in Ross, Sutherland and Skye, and he seems to have acquired large territorial rights[2] between Loch Carron and Loch Broom. To the same generation belong St. Comgan with his sister Kentigerna and her son St. Fillan, who evangelized the wilds between Lochalsh and Ardnamurchan. St. Fillan is said to have made his way inland to the heart of Perthshire and Kentigerna to have settled on Loch Lomond, while Adamnan, the biographer, carried the mission into Nairnshire and into

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[1] So Grub, i. 91. Zimmer (p. 84) says in 674.

[2] Skene, ii. 169.

Breadalbane, where he is honoured as the founder of the monastery of Dull.[1]

Although the evangelism of the Scotic monks was now confined to such districts, their settlements and methods throughout North Britain were undisturbed for a generation. When a plague which deprived Lindisfarne of its abbot was checked at the Tweed, the immunity of Scots and Picts was, Adamnan writes, ascribed to the sanctity of Columba's settlements.[2] The same authority quotes as a fulfilled prophecy the declaration of Columba that Iona would be held in honour not only by kings of the Scots and by the rulers of foreign nations but also by the saints of other Churches.[3] Such statements made in 695 or 696, supplemented by the fact that Adamnan had among his pupils Oswy's son Aldfrith, the first scholar-king of England, prove conclusively that till the very end of the seventh century Iona was regarded, even in the then Latinized Church of England, as an honourable school of piety and sacred learning.

This did not, however, secure the permanence of the Iona mission even in North Britain. Adamnan himself headed the first attack upon its independence. When visiting his royal pupil at the Northumbrian court in 688, he was led to accept the Roman views of Easter and of tonsure, and on his return to Iona attempted to persuade the 'family' to adopt them. Failing in the attempt, he passed over to Ireland, where he helped to bring North Ireland under the Roman Obedience[4] and himself received the Roman tonsure. How little bitterness entered into this controversy is shown by the fact that after this achievement he returned to Iona and was well received by his brethren, although they are said to have been shocked by seeing the Roman 'corona' on so honoured a head. Before an Easter came round to reveal the greater divergence, he passed to his rest (704); but within six years of his death movements on the mainland precipitated the impending ruin of the institutions which are known to us mainly through his delightful memoir. In 710 Nechtan (Naiton), king of the Picts, 'warned,' says Bede, 'by frequent meditation upon the ecclesiastical writings,'[1] was attracted by the southern usages and appealed for guidance to Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow, who responded in a lengthy letter of which Bede professes to give the text.[2]

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[1] See page 81. Adamnan's claim appears stronger than Cuthbert's.

[2] *Vita S. Columbae*, ii. 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 23. See page 69.

[4] Between 692 (Synod of Tara) and 703: Zimmer (p. 85) gives the date as 697, Hunt (p. 169) as 704.

When the letter was read to Nechtan in the presence of his 'learned men,'[3] he rejoiced greatly at the confirmation of his surmises and publicly declared that thenceforward the southern Easter should be observed throughout Pictland and the southern tonsure applied to all clerics in his realm. The nation 'gladly came under the teaching and patronage of Peter, most blessed chief of the Apostles,'[4] and Nechtan completed the revolution by requesting architectural direction in the building of a stone church 'in accordance with the custom of the Romans.' What resulted from this request is uncertain,[5] but it suffices to show the tenor and the spirit of the change. The southern usages were now the law of Pictland and the Scotic usages were pronounced illegal.[6]

In Iona itself an attempt was at once made to enforce the law of Nechtan. Bede implies that it was accepted in 714, the Irish annalist says in 717; but the acceptance was partial. For a time there were two abbots heading rival factions of the family.[7] Gradually the new view prevailed.

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, v. 21.

[2] The 'Letter' is manifestly a statement of Bede's own views.

[3] Skene (i. 279) holds that there is strong reason for thinking that the meeting was held at Scone.

[4] The legend of St. Andrew's special patronage of North Britain had not yet arisen. See below.

[5] It has been suggested that Rosemarkie or Abernethy was the site of the church. See Grub, i. 117. Bede says only that Nechtan desired that the church should be 'in gente ipsius.'

[6] The Irish annalist Tighernac, writing in the eleventh century, says that Nechtan 'drove the family of Iona across the back of Britain,' but the statement is at variance with the minute narrative of Bede, who expressly says that 'all the ministers of the altar and the monks' accepted the tonsure. Skene, although he does not rate Tighernac highly (i. 26), has developed his statement into a theory, which Rhys seems to accept, that the Columban clergy were dispossessed and excluded from Pictland for more than a century; yet Tighernac's statement is unconfirmed. The attendance of a 'Pictish bishop of Scotia' at a Council held at Rome in 721 proves nothing, 'Scotia' being at that date Ireland. With Hume Brown (*History of Scotland*, i. 25) we prefer to follow Bede. So Rait (*Making of Scotland*, pp. 6-7): 'there was no religious severance at this stage between Scots and Picts.'

[7] Skene, ii. 177.

The chief agent was a learned Englishman, Ecgberct, who had been trained in South Ireland and settled in Iona in 716. He was not only learned but gracious, ascetic and of a keen missionary spirit. Again and again he had been baffled in plans for preaching the gospel to the Germans, but ultimately he was advised by a Melrose monk that his mission lay to the monks of Columba: 'Their ploughs did not go straight; it was his duty to recall them to the right path.' Although he was an old man when he began the task, his gentle suasion succeeded where the laws of Nechtan had failed, and in his ninetieth year his deathbed was cheered by the assurance that when another Easter came round (in 729) the family of Iona would for the first time observe the 'custom of St. Peter.' A certain dignity and delicacy of sentiment adhered to the fortunes of the 'family,' even in transitions which normally are rough and contentious.

The division was not yet quite at an end. Two years before the death of Ecgberct, certain relics of Columba were carried off by the faithful to Ireland, as though Iona were no longer the saint's real resting-place, and for forty years more there were rival abbots on the island. It was not till 767, when for the first time an abbot who was not a co-arb of Columba held undisputed command, that the triumph of Rome was complete. Thirty years later even the buildings of Columba disappeared. In 794 Iona was devastated by the Danes, and in 806 another band of Norse raiders not only slaughtered the whole community but demolished every trace of the monastery in which the evangelists of Britain had been schooled.[1]

Religious history presents few parallels to the movement which has been described in this and the preceding chapter. Certainly there is no case in which devoted and successful work, needed by the interests of the kingdom of God and carried on without deterioration of character, has been so swiftly and completely submerged. Although, in

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[1] The record in the *Irish Annals* is pathetic: '794, ravaging of all the isles; 795, spoliation of Icolmkill; 798, spoliation of isles between Erin and Alba; 802, Iona burnt by the Gentiles; 806, community of Iona slain to the number of sixty-eight.'

Wilfrid's language, the Iona missionaries were 'simple and rustic men,' they had rendered the very service that was required by Britain in their time.

Yet the termination of their mission is no cause for surprise. Their function was to detach the British tribes from idolatry and from the social tyrannies of paganism by exhibiting the essential superiority of Christianity. This function they discharged, and with its fulfilment the need for such work as theirs came to an end. They had no organizing ability—none of what modern churchmen call 'the institutional faculty.' They were incapable of building up a Church which would maintain and carry forward the movement which they so admirably began. Little as we may admire Wilfrid and his allies personally, strongly as we may condemn their formal conception of Church unity, they appreciated, better than the Iona monks, what Britain required when once rescued from paganism. Nechtan was right in thinking that his kingdom should be brought into alliance with the civilized world, although he naïvely expressed the thought by saying that he must have a church built of stone. Evangelism, however sincere, and sporadic energizing, however romantic, do not suffice to make Christianity part of the life of a nation.

The Iona mission was not obliterated. In North Britain the settlements planted by Columba and his successors were weakened to an incalculable extent by the loss of the headship of Iona, and many of them were, like Iona, destroyed by Norse invaders; but the survivors maintained and represented Church life, and were agents in a Christianizing of clans which ultimately coalesced as a Christian nation. In the south, although the picturesque fabric of the mission vanished, its specific achievement remained. There is growth, not decay, when organized and organizing churchmanship occupies mission-fields and reaps the fruit of enthusiastic evangelism.

No doubt Colman withdrawing quietly into insignificance is a more attractive figure than 'St. Wilfrid' with his clear assurance that he had the support of all the real bishops in the world, and his grandiose patronage of the rustic simplicity of 'your Columba.' Yet Colmans give place to Wilfrids in obedience to a religious law, and it is well when they do so without passion or complaint, recognizing the economy of the kingdom of grace. It was not only inevitable but fitting that the Lindisfarne mission should make way for the bishopric of York, and that the very relics of old-fashioned saints should be transferred from islands to the mainland, on which saintliness must now seek for a home.

CHAPTER VII

THE DARK AGE

664-870

Romanizing of Britain—St. Cuthbert—Advance checked at Nechtansmere—The Church in Northumbria, Lothian, Strathclyde—Norsemen on west coast—Fusion of races in Alban—Picts and Scots one nation—'Ecclesia Scoticana'—Dunkeld made the religious capital—The meaning of the change.

THE events described in last chapter may lead the reader to anticipate the immediate and complete submission of North Britain to the Roman Obedience, and at first this seemed certain to ensue. In England the Church was Romanized rapidly. The energies of Wilfrid, whose later career, brightened by missionary courage and clouded by secular ambitions, belongs to English Church history, were unrelenting in this direction, but the movement did not depend upon him alone. In the very year after the Synod of Whitby, Pope Vitalian wrote to Oswy intimating that he would select for the primacy then vacant a person who would 'eradicate the tares,' *i.e.* the Scotic errors, from the whole island; and under the archbishop selected, Theodore of Tarsus[1] (668-709), the eradication went on apace. By 673 he was able to report that a council of bishops had promised to conform to the ancient and canonical decrees of the Fathers, and had complied with rules which he had tendered, the first of which expressly enforced the Roman Easter. Although the Scoto-Celtic usage regarding Easter lingered in outlying districts, especially in the west where the British Church had its strength, it was promptly abandoned in southern, central and north-eastern England. This was only a single item of the change. The Roman liturgy was gradually introduced, with the Roman style of singing. The diocesan system was completed, with six-monthly synods of bishops. Doubt was cast even upon Scotic baptism, and Scotic orders were declared to be invalid by several enactments, which reached a climax in 816, when the Council of Cealchyth (Chelsea) pronounced that no one of 'the race of the Scots'[1] should minister in the Church of England. The reason alleged betrays a strange forgetfulness of Aidan, viz. 'we do not know from whom they derive their orders or whether they have been ordained at all.' Before that date an English synod (787) had accepted from two papal legates a set of canons prescribed by Rome, and the custom had arisen (788) of sending an annual contribution to the papal revenues, which in the ninth century became 'Peter's Pence.' By such enactments and developments the English Church was assimilated to the Latin.

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[1] Theodore, being a Greek, had not previously followed the usages which he was now called upon to propagate. Bede (*H. E.*, iv. 1), having explained the precautions taken against his introducing into England anything contrary to the truth of the faith, gravely states that he waited for four months until his hair grew, so that it might be shaved into the orthodox corona.

In Northumbria, which included a large and important part of modern Scotland, the Latinizing process advanced swiftly for a while. Wilfrid proceeded with the erection of churches in the northern portion of his see, which extended to the Forth. Indeed he regarded the Picts as being under his special charge. When he visited Rome in 680 he spoke publicly on their behalf, declaring them to be faithful children of the Church.[2] In the following year a separate bishop of the Picts was appointed, Trumuin by name, whose choice of Abercorn in Linlithgowshire as his seat shows how far north the Roman power then reached. Wilfrid's selection of the nunnery of Coldingham as a retreat for an East Anglian princess, Ethelfreda, who forsook her royal husband, illustrates the complete subjection of Lothian to Rome.

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[1] 'Nullus de genere Scotorum.'—Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 170. No doubt the Irish-Scots, and perhaps they alone, were in view. See page 70 n. 1.

[2] See page 90. So completely Northumbrian was Lothian that when Wilfrid fell into disfavour he was imprisoned for a time at Dunbar.

More effective, however, than episcopal propagandism was the acceptance of the new system by men who had been eminent in the Scotic mission. Among others Cedd, the missionary bishop of East Saxony, bowed to the decision of Whitby without a murmur. His brother Ceadd (St. Chad) showed conspicuous docility. He was consecrated immediately after the Council, but when the Roman authorities urged that the consecration was invalid, two of the consecrating bishops being 'British,' he submitted to reconsecration, saying 'with most humble voice' that he had never been worthy of episcopal office and that he would obey 'in the interests of discipline.'[1] Eata of Melrose, who became abbot of Lindisfarne under the new régime, appointed the saintly Cuthbert as his prior.[2] The change in Cuthbert had special influence and significance. According to Bede,[3] he was skilful and zealous in winning over those of the Lindisfarne monks who clung to the ways of Iona, showing firmness to the stubborn as well as gentleness to the penitent. His own tone changed, losing a good deal of its breezy freshness, and gaining the morbid and superstitious quality of Latin monachism as portrayed in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. Vivid encounters with malignant devils became dominant in his spiritual life,[4] and they combined with the Celtic love for solitude in withdrawing him from active service. After a brief period of seclusion in the Northumbrian hills, he built a home for himself in 676 on Farne Isle, an uninhabited island six miles from Lindisfarne, piling up stones around him so that he might see nothing but heaven, and shrinking from all visitors except those sea-birds whose intimacy with him secured for their tribe the name of 'St. Cuthbert's fowls.' It was a life wholly alien to the spirit of Columba and of Aidan. At one stage, yielding reluctantly to royal pressure, he discharged episcopal duties for two years, as bishop first of Hexham and then of Lindisfarne.[1] He is said to have preached in 'wild highlands' where 'there were no churches';[2] and as foundations at Maxton, Ednam and Edinburgh,[3] as well as at Kirkcudbright, bear his name, it is quite likely that he revisited as a Roman bishop the very districts which he had evangelized in his early days as a Scotic monk. When death came upon him in 687, a few months after his return to Farne Island, he warned the brethren with his dying breath against the usages of the Celtic Church. 'Have no communion,' he said, 'with those who err from the unity of the catholic faith, either by keeping Easter at an improper time or by a perverse life. . . . Consent not in any way to the wickedness of schismatics.'[4] The weight of his blameless and pious character was thrown without reserve on the Roman side, while the other scale of the balance was empty, not a voice being now raised for the cause of Iona.

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[1] 'Obedientiae causâ.'—Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 28.

[2] Cf. pages 82 and 96. Eata was abbot both of Melrose and of Lindisfarne.—Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 26; iv. 27; *D. C. B.*, *s.v.* 'Eata.'

[3] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xvi. Bede lays stress upon this side of his life, and likens his supernatural influence to Benedict's.

[4] On Cuthbert's dealings with demons see *Opera Bedae*, iv. 249, 253, 257, 273 ff.

Suddenly, however, the northward advance of Roman Christianity was checked and a barrier was erected which proved impenetrable for four centuries. The record of events is very bare, yet it indicates that solid racial antagonism was at work. In 685 Ecgfrith, son of Oswy, who had undertaken a campaign against the Picts in spite of the warnings of Cuthbert, was overwhelmed in battle at Nechtansmere, in the parish of Dunnichen, Forfarshire, and the power of Northumbria was shattered. The Picts became masters of all the territory north of the Cheviots and the Solway. The newly created bishop of the Picts, Trumuin, withdrew from his seat at Abercorn, and the Church of North Britain was severed from the Church of the south.[5] Whatever were the influences which twenty-five years later led the king of the Picts to adopt the Roman Easter and to discard the customs of the Church of Columba,[1] they implied no abatement of his independence, nor any recognition of the authority of the Northumbrian abbot to whom he appealed for advice.

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[1] Cuthbert was elected bishop of Hexham but, through a resignation, consecrated to the see of Lindisfarne in 685.

[2] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xxxix. This mission is said to have been 'in parochia sua,' *i.e.* his sphere of duty.

[3] Also in Lorne.

[4] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. xxxix.

[5] The signature appended to a Council held at Rome in 721, 'Fergustus episcopus Scotiae Pictus,' is an unsolved riddle. See pages 21 n. 3 and 99 n. 6. At that date 'Scotia' did not denote modern Scotland.—Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 116.

After Nechtansmere, Northumbria rapidly degenerated and lost its importance in the development of English Christianity. The vitality of the Church found expression in the missionary enterprises of Willibrord, the Hewalds and Boniface in Frisia and Germany; but its home energies were contentious and ambitious, and its moral tone became coarse and careless. Bede, who writes of the period with the full knowledge of a resident contemporary, ascribes the decline partly to the worldliness and greed of bishops, partly to the relaxation of monastic discipline, and sadly contrasts the darkness and degradation of his own times with the bright and gracious period of Aidan's mission.[2] Under one of his friends, King Ceolwulf, and the next king, Eadbert, there was a brief revival of energy, which was exhibited both in ecclesiastical affairs and in military enterprise. The Bishop of York (Egbert, 734-66) received a *pallium*[3] from the Pope, so reaching a rank which in later centuries had an important bearing upon the relations between the English and the Scottish Churches,[4] and Eadbert pushed his arms northward with temporary success. Forming an alliance with the Pictish king, he humbled the Britons in 756 at Alcluyd (Dumbarton), but nine days later his army was all but annihilated at Ovania in Perthshire.[5] Eadbert exchanged his sceptre for a monk's cowl and there followed a period of usurpation and misrule. The Northumbrians became, in Charlemagne's words, 'a perfidious and perverse race worse than pagans.' When in 793 Norse ships appeared upon their coasts, they had no strength to resist and gazed helplessly upon 'the miserable destruction of God's house at Lindisfarne.'[1] Within the following century Northumbria became 'almost a Danish province,' in which Christian civilization was extinguished.[2]

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[1] See page 94.

[2] Bede died in 735.

[3] The pall (*pallium*) was a shoulder-scarf or cape of white wool sent from Rome as a token of the Pope's favour. In the eighth century it became the official badge of metropolitans, without which they could not discharge archiepiscopal functions.

[4] 'In 735 . . . Egbert became the first archbishop of York, for Paulinus cannot be reckoned as having held that dignity.'—Hunt, *History of English Church*, p. 209.

[5] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. pp. 40-1—a passage overlooked by Hume Brown and Lang. Skene (i. 295) places Ovania in the Vale of Clyde.

It is manifest, even in the absence of definite records, that while this degradation was in progress any effective propagation of the Latin Church among the Picts was impossible. Yet the country as far north as the Forth was politically part of Northumbria and ecclesiastically subject to Lindisfarne. We read, for example, that in 721 an abbot of Melrose was transferred to the bishopric of Lindisfarne as a piece of ordinary promotion within a diocese,[3] and a century later (830?) that a bishop of Lindisfarne had certain lands at Jedburgh in his gift. There are indications, definite if dim, in the English annals that there was some Church extension in the Lothians, even when the Northumbrian Church was at its weakest.[4] The chronicles of the year 870 tell how the noble abbess and sisterhood of Coldingham, a convent which had years of shame and years of glory, escaped outrage by the Danes by mutilating their faces, and 'died in flames for Christ.'[5] As far west as Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire an ancient sandstone rood (the Holy Rood of Ruthwell), showing by its characters that it dates from the Danish period,[6] preserves fragments of a Christian hymn composed in the last half of the eighth century, not by Caedmon but by his brother-Northumbrian, Cynewulf. In one verse the Cross speaks with dramatic beauty:—

'Then the young Hero who was mightiest God,
  Strong and with steadfast mind,
Up to my arms with steps unfaltering trod,
  There to redeem mankind.
I trembled but I durst not fail,
  I on my shoulders bore the glorious King;
They pierce my sides with many an ugly nail,
  And on us both their cruel curses fling.'[7]

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[1] The two sanctuaries of the Church of Columba were destroyed within the same decade.

[2] Hodgkin, *Political History*, pp. 276, 281.

[3] Bede, *H. E.*, v. 23; Florence of Worcester, p. 541.

[4] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 101.

[5] Matthew Paris, *Chron.*, i. 391.

[6] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, ii. 232-46.

[7] Only parts of the hymn have been deciphered.

The inscription casts a bright gleam upon the darkness of the time, and proves that the Christianizing of modern Scotland must not be ascribed wholly to Celtic monks.

The religious history of the west coast in those two centuries is all but a blank. When Bede records that many of the Britons were persuaded by Adamnan, in 688, to accept the Roman usages, he probably refers to the Britons of Strathclyde, since the Britons of north and south Wales did not conform until 768 and 777 respectively.[1] This conjecture is supported by the fact that in 721 the decrees of a Council held at Rome by Pope Gregory II were subscribed by 'a bishop of Britain, of the race of the Scots.'[2] But the movement represented no living Christian force. The collision of the Britons with the Northumbrians and their allies in 756 rather indicates that Strathclyde resisted the advance of civilization. The only exception was the district associated with the mission of Ninian, which lay apart and had a religious history of its own. Before 731 Candida Casa[3] was re-erected into a bishopric subject to the see of York, 'the number of believers having increased,'[4] and the succession was maintained for about seventy years, bishops being consecrated usually at York, although once at least at Chester. At the end of the eighth century, however, Galloway was overrun by Scots and Picts. The last Anglo-Saxon bishop died in 803, and in the ninth century inland Galloway was in the possession of its Gaelic population,[5] while Norsemen began to settle on the coast. The church and monastery fell into ruins, and the bishopric disappeared for nearly three centuries.[6] If there was any Christianity in Strathclyde, it has left no traces and exercised no influence on the history of the Scottish Church.

Almost as uninfluential was the religious history of Iona.

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[1] Bede recognizes that in 731 'Britons' were still estranged from Rome.—*H. E.*, v. 22.

[2] On the idea that this bishop was a successor of Kentigern see page 21. His signature stands next that quoted on page 106 n. 5.

[3] *I.e.* Whithorn. See page 18.

[4] Bede, *H. E.*, v. 23.

[5] See page 12.

[6] See Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 227. The bishopric was revived about 1125 under David I.

The fortunes of the island have already been traced down to the Danish raids at the beginning of the ninth century.[1] When the raiders withdrew, an attempt was made to restore the settlement, and stone buildings, of which some traces still exist, were erected. But in 825 the Danes reappeared and murdered the abbot when he was celebrating the eucharist. The extermination of the community was difficult, for the Scots on both sides of the Irish Channel valued the sanctuary as a sleeping-place of saints and kings. The memorials of Columba were sometimes concealed underground, sometimes removed for safety to Ireland or to Caledonia, but as the century advanced the west coast came so completely under the power of the Norsemen that those efforts were abandoned. In 854 the last independent abbot of Iona died,[2] and it is suggestive that, although he claimed to be a co-arb of Columba, his death occurred when he was on a pilgrimage to Rome. It was when the Christianity of Iona had parted with its distinctive character and the last shreds of its influence that a 'Scottish Church' came into view upon the mainland.

In the west and north-west the branch missions of Iona were all but obliterated. The virtual annihilation of the homes of Ninian and Columba was the precursor or rather the beginning of those Danish forays and Norse conquests by which Scotland was, as it were, hammered into unity. We are wandering in what Professor Haverfield calls 'a dim land of doubts and shadows,' in which certainties are few and errors almost inevitable, and there is no possibility of describing the process by which the earliest Christian settlements were destroyed. We learn from the *Irish Annals* that in 802 the abbey of Applecross still existed, and probably the beginning of the ninth century may safely be named as the time when Scandinavians were so completely in possession that the maintenance of Christian centres became impossible, for by that time the Danes had pressed as far south as Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Stray records survive of outrages by White Strangers (Norwegians) and Black Strangers (Danes) and of desperate struggles to keep the lamp of the gospel burning; but in the ninth century these efforts ceased. The western isles became known as 'The Strangers' Islands,' and Odin and Freya were worshipped not only in the Orkneys but in Caithness, Sutherland and Ross. Yet those very disasters, welding Scots and Picts together, tended to give solidity to the Christian cause. Under pressure from north, south and west the nation recognized its own identity, and the national identity claimed or involved an expression in religion.

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[1] See page 100.

[2] For another half-century the title Abbot of Iona was held by abbots of Kildare and Armagh, who seem to have been Irishmen. Between 829 and 921 one of them erected a shrine of Columba in Iona.—Skene, ii. 317.

We have indicated all that is known of the fortunes of Christianity in Lothian, Strathclyde and Galloway, as well as in the scenes of Columba's first missions. It was not, however, in those regions that the religion of North Britain took shape, but in the land of the Picts (*Pictavia*), the Caledonia of the Romans, which as the Dark Age advanced came to be known as Alba, Alban or Albyn.[1] It was a limited district, bounded by the Spey, the Forth and Drumalban,[2] and its political history in the period covered by this chapter is all but a blank. There were wars and leagues with the Northumbrians and Britons, the sequence of which cannot even be guessed. Seven earls or mormaers struggled to maintain separate rule over their respective clans or kingdoms, although recognizing an elected king as their leader.[3] The course of the struggle has left no traces; the only certainty is that a fusion of races was in process and that at the close of the period the king of Pictland was a Scot who ruled Picts and Scots as one people. That the fusion had religious elements and aspects is proved by the fact that it was completed and sealed by the constitution of a national Church, but there is no evidence of the process by which a sense of common Christian interests developed. For a century after 710, when the Easter-date and the tonsure of the south were accepted, Church history is a blank.[1] The Irish annalists preserve a tradition[2] that King Nechtan who enforced conformity became a monk in 724, was reconciled with the adherents of the Columban usages, and was actually buried in Iona. But this tradition is scarcely more worthy of credit than a legend preserved in an Aberdeen breviary that before Nechtan's death a certain Pope Boniface came as a missionary to Alban, converted thirty-six thousand persons, wrote a hundred and fifty books, and erected a hundred and fifty churches with a hundred and fifty bishops and a thousand priests. Another quaint legend, that a hundred years later six thousand and six Christian exiles from Bohemia settled in the Isle of May and, after diffusing the gospel, were slaughtered by the Danes, has been transformed by scholarly ingenuity into a migration of fugitive Scots from Ireland; but the transformation will not stand scrutiny.[3] The one important and indisputable fact is that when, in the middle of the ninth century, a nation with a Scottish king emerges from the darkness it has a Church of its own—Ecclesia Scoticana.[4]

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[1] According to Skene and Rhys, the designation 'Alban' emerges in 890-900. On 'Fortrenn' see below. In the Pictish Chronicle 'Scotia' always designates Ireland until the tenth century, although 'Scotti' is sometimes applied to dwellers in Alban. Rait (*Making of Scotland*, i. 8) would place the date half a century earlier, but see Skene, i. 5, 207, 298, etc. The first literary use of 'Scotia' for Scotland is by Marianus Scotus in the eleventh century.

[2] For the extent of Alban in the ninth century see Lang, i. 42; Hume Brown, i. 30; Skene, i. 6.

[3] *Book of Deer* (Spalding Club), lxxiv.; *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 223; Lang, i. 40.

The Church so designated was neither in subjection to nor in alliance with the English or Roman Church. The orders and customs of the Scots had indeed been explicitly pronounced worthless by Councils held in England and in Gaul;[5]

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[1] Bede (*H. E.*, v. 23) records that in 731 the Picts rejoiced in 'sharing with the universal Church in catholic peace and truth,' and that 'the Scots who dwelt in Britain stayed within their bounds and gave no trouble to the Angles'; but in that very year we lose Bede's guidance. Patrick (*Statutes of Scottish Church*, xi.) thinks that 'for more than a century the Picts were under Anglican influence.' There seems rather to have been a withdrawal from Anglican influence. Grub (i. 119) conjectures that 'some of the monks returned to their old (Celtic) opinions.' So Rait holds that Strathclyde 'remained Columban,' and that even the Scots and Picts 'retained or relapsed into the customs of their first great missionary' (*Making of Scotland*, p. 7).

[2] Skene, i. 284 ff.; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 116.

[3] The only plea for the theory is that one of the Bohemians was 'Monanus,' and that in the sixth century there was an Irish 'St. Moinenn.'

[4] The expression Ecclesia Scot(t)icana is first used in the records of 878.

[5] At Cealchyth (816) and Chalon-sur-Saône (813). Cf. pages 70 n. and 104.

and the erection or institution of the Scottish Church was carried out by kings who were at war with the Saxons and who destroyed the Latin monasteries at Melrose and Dunbar.[1]

Three kings were responsible for the development. Angus MacFergus (731-61), who, in alliance with the Northumbrians, defeated the Britons[2] and made himself master of Strathclyde as well as of Dalriada, achieved the most signal of his victories by invoking St. Andrew, to whom he consecrated a tenth part of his inheritance. After the victory Angus is said to have encountered a monk from Constantinople, Regulus (St. Rule), who brought with him relics of St. Andrew and pointed to a site for the headship of the churches of all the Picts. The legend which records these events is not ancient enough to be trustworthy; yet about the same date (in 747) we read of the 'abbacy of Kilrymont,' which was destined to harbour the cult of the saint of Scotland. The time for that change had not arrived, but a beginning had been made in the assertion of the idea that the nation required a special saint. Half a century later Constantin I (789-820) erected religious buildings at Dunkeld and transferred to them the bones of Columba.[3] This action, while in line with a continuous policy, was the immediate result of the devastation of Iona by the Danes in 806.[4] The Danish mastery of the sea coast, separating the Scots in Ireland and the Scots in Alban, made it impossible to regard Iona as a centre of Scotic Church life. On both sides of the channel new religious centres were chosen. In Ireland Kells in Meath was erected into a primacy, and Constantin's selection of Dunkeld, which lay in the very heart of Pictland, as his religious capital indicates the growing influence of the Scots. How far Constantin went in this matter is uncertain, but the transference was completed by Kenneth MacAlpin (844-60), the first Scot to sway the

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[1] *Pict. Chron.*, quoted by Grub, i. 162.

[2] See page 107.

[3] 'Hic aedificavit Dunkelden.'—*Regist. Prior. S. Andreae.* Lang accepts Robertson's authority for the removal of Columba's bones.—*History of Scotland*, i. 42, 57. The Pictish Chronicle ascribes this to Kenneth.—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 8. The relics were either divided or multiplied.

[4] See page 100. Rait says that the transference was made after the Danish raid of 818.—*Making of Scotland*, p. 8.

Pictish sceptre. Kenneth, a Scot on his father's side and a Pict on his mother's, ruled Fortrenn[1] or Fortrinn, which was at this time a designation of Pictland, with Forteviot as his residence. A brave and politic monarch, he not only assailed the Northumbrians and established friendly relations with the peoples of Strathclyde, but showed 'wonderful skill'[2] in settling Scots in Pictland. In 849, as an impressive and effective item of his policy, he recognized Dunkeld as the religious capital of the races which were gradually gaining solidarity. The abbot of Dunkeld became 'the first bishop of Fortrenn.'[3] There is no ground for entitling Dunkeld a primacy or for supposing that the Church was fully organized. Yet the ecclesiastical change was a real and vital one. The Columban Church had been ruled by abbots, but now the head of the Church was a bishop—bishop not of Dunkeld but of all Fortrenn. In religion as in politics Kenneth was distinctly a founder. At Scone he placed the fateful stone,[4] symbol of the new Scottish nationality, and at Dunkeld he established Ecclesia Scoticana, which for three centuries embodied the religion of the nation of which he was the first king.

Ecclesiastical historians, through their eagerness to discover in early Scotland the effective operation of Church agencies, have lost sight of the essential connexion between political and religious events.[5] Just as the planting of the

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[1] 'Fortrenn' originally denoted the district between Forth and Tay ruled by a fabulous prince. Towards the end of the seventh century it seems to have been applied to all Pictland. Hume Brown (*Hist. of Scotland*, i. 47) suggests that it describes only the southern half of the kingdom; but see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 269, 307 f., 315 ff.; Maxwell, *Early Chronicles*, p. 91; Rhys, who derives the designation from the British 'Verturiones,' ascribes MacAlpin's success to the defeat of the men of Fortrenn by Danes.—*Celtic Britain*, p. 179 ff.

[2] 'Mira calliditas.'

[3] 'Primus episcopus Fortrenn et abbas Duincaillenn.'—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 8. So in the *Annals of Ulster* (865); Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 143. Skene (ii. 308) shows 'that "primus" here unquestionably means first in time not in dignity.' Cf. Grub, i. 162; Bellesheim, i. 215.

[4] Skene (i. 280 ff.) suggests that the stone, which is a block of red sandstone, 16 inches long, 10 inches broad, 10½ inches deep, may have been an old Christian altar. Its history is unknown. See page 99 n. 3.

[5] Skene gives the policy of MacAlpin a still more ecclesiastical character. He argues that the Columban clergy, who had been 'dispossessed' in Pictland for more than a century, were now reinstated. In that case MacAlpin must be regarded as having united the Anglicized Picts with the Columban Scots. The

Scottish race in the west of Scotland is unintelligible without Columba, so the definite recognition of Ecclesia Scoticana was an inseparable part of the formation of the Scottish nation. If the institutions and organism of that Church were not destined to be permanent, the reason lay in the fact that they embodied the religion of a growing race which had not yet reached maturity.

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only evidences for this dispossession are the eleventh-century chronicle quoted on page 99, and the statement of another chronicler that the Pictish kings 'Domini missam et praeceptum spreverunt.'—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 8. Such proof seems quite inadequate. See page 112 n. 1. Skene, i. 314 ff., ii. 306; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 179.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF THE CULDEES

870-1068

Boundaries of Scotland settled—Liberty and rights of Church recognized—The Bishop of Alban—Unlikeness to England—St. Andrew and St. Andrews—The Culdees—Methods of their ministry.

THE two centuries which succeeded are in some respects as dark as the two which preceded the emergence of Ecclesia Scoticana. They are brightened by no literature of any kind, nor are there traces of any impressive personality. Yet the general course of national development, which is made tolerably clear by references in the English Chronicles and by other indirect information, gives some indication of the character of Church life.

Through incessant contendings and with many variations, the boundaries of Alban, the kingdom of the Scots, were gradually settled.

The Vikings, who as yet were heathen, were masters of the extreme north and the north-west, not only of the Orkneys and (after 890) of the Sudreys, or Western Isles, but of Caithness and Sutherland. They held all these parts with a firm hand, giving no free room to Christian influence till the tenth century was near its end. They also pressed upon the Scots' territory from the south-east and the south-west, *i.e.* from Northumbria and Cumbria. Their hostility indeed was not unbroken. In one great battle (Brunanburh, 937), 'Danes, Scots and Britons' fought side by side against the English, and even in the north the antagonism was checked, or at least weakened, through the division of the northern lands into separate 'earldoms,' which were usually in strife with one another, though they acknowledged in various forms the sovereignty of the king of Alban. With some of the earls, or jarls, the relations of the Scots were friendly and, as the tenth century advanced, the friendliness increased. At the close of that century Christianity prevailed with the Scandinavian races, both in their own land and in their settlements. Olaf the Thick, after his conversion in 995, proceeded to destroy heathenism in his northern dominions, and in 1005 the Earl of Orkney avowed himself a Christian. The Norwegian power, however, was greatly reduced by the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1014. Thereafter Caithness and the other earldoms which had been dependent upon Norway were brought under southern influences favourable to the growth of Christianity. The building of Christ Church at Birsa, on the mainland of Orkney, in 1064 by a jarl of Caithness may be taken as a sample or token of the process by which the northern coasts were civilized and Christianized. Yet this movement had no connexion with the Scottish Church. It was to the Archbishop of Hamburg that the Orcadians of the eleventh century applied for preachers, and the bishops whom he sent in response were under Scandinavian metropolitans.

In the south, the boundaries of the kingdom were settled by a series of racial contentions, the general course of which alone had influence on Church history. Here, too, internal events were dominated by the movements of the Scandinavians. In 875 a Danish invasion, which swept over Strathclyde and Pictland, dealt a fatal blow to the Christian civilization of Northumbria.[1] Half a century later Northumbria had no king. In 993 Bamburgh was stormed and plundered by Norsemen, and in 1013 Northumbria submitted definitely to the invaders. Amidst these harassments and depredations, an irregular but unsparing warfare was maintained between North and South Britain. So far was it from being mitigated by their common Christianity, that the Scots in 883 laid waste the land of St. Cuthbert and despoiled the monastery of Lindisfarne.[1] Between 921 and 926 the English kings secured an 'allegiance,' both from the Scots and from the Britons of Strathclyde, which one school of historians has termed vassalage and another has regarded as a mere alliance.[2] At the battle of Brunanburh the Scots were completely defeated, and in 946 they received from England control over Cumbria, promising, the English chroniclers allege, that they would 'do all that England desired.' Thereafter the tide of victory turned. Between 954 and 962 Dunedin (Edinburgh), which had previously been Northumbrian, was abandoned to the Scots, who within the next nine years became masters also of the whole of Lothian. Although in 973 kings of Scotland and of Cumbria appeared at Chester to do homage, the subjection was brief-lived. In 1018 the Northumbrians, weakened by Scandinavian ravages, were utterly routed by a united force of Scots and Cambrians at Carham, on the south bank of the Tweed; and, although there is a record of 'submission' rendered to England some years later,[3] the final annexation of Lothian to Scotland, as Alban now began to be called, may be reckoned as having been secured at Carham. The stages by which Strathclyde, the northern district of Cumbria, was added to the kingdom cannot be distinctly traced. Historically it was an unimportant district, a no-man's-land, ravaged sometimes by Northumbrians, sometimes by Danes from Ireland. Before the end of the tenth century the northern and southern parts of Cumbria had fallen apart, a stream of Scandinavian settlers having poured in from the south-west. The date at which the severance became complete and the land north of the Solway came under Scottish rule is uncertain,[4] but the transference was certainly completed before the annexation of Lothian. The boundaries of the kingdom were in 1018 the same as those of modern Scotland. Of the enlarged kingdom Duncan became king in 1034, and in that year the title 'Rex Scotiae' is applied for the first time to its ruler.[1]

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[1] At this time the bones of St. Cuthbert were, after several transferences, deposited at Chester-le-Street, whence they were removed in 995 to Durham.

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[1] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, i. 213-14.

[2] The significance of the 'commendation,' as debated between Robertson, Skene and Freeman, is shown by Lang (*History of Scotland*, i. 45 ff., 496), who holds that the question is 'of purely antiquarian interest.' Rait pronounces it to be 'feeble and academic.'

[3] In 1031, to Cnut.—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

[4] Probably under Kenneth, who ruled from 970 to 994.

For long, however, the fusion of the annexed populations was very partial. The wilds of Galloway, although largely uncivilized, claimed religious affinities to the Church of the south. The fertile district of Lothian continued to be Northumbrian, socially and religiously, for half a century after it had been ceded to the Scots. Duncan was worsted in battle at Durham before he fell (1040) at the hand of Macbeth, and in 1054 Macbeth himself was defeated by Siward of Northumbria. Three years later Macbeth was slain by Malcolm Canmore, whose reign was to alter the whole life of Scotland. During those contests the land between Tweed and Forth was insecure politically, and the Church influences to which it was subject were specifically English. Yet those influences had little spiritual strength. The deterioration of the Church in Northumbria had continued.[2] Monastic life was careless and slothful, when not vicious. Bishops had grown into secular lords. Church property had passed into lay hands. The clergy were marked by that gross ignorance which grieved King Alfred's soul. While England had been stirred by a deep and strong revival in the days of Dunstan[3] (925-88), there is no sign that the revival was felt beyond the Tweed. The fact that Lothian was so long under the religious rule of Lindisfarne made it at a later stage an important factor in the growth of the Scottish Church, but in this period it contributed nothing to the religion of the nation.[4]

The obscurity of the Church life of Alban during this period has been exaggerated by controversial historians, to whom all Christianity seems obscure in which they cannot identify the Church institutions which they value. Several distinctive facts are well attested. Ecclesia Scoticana, established under the Bishop of Fortrenn in 849,[1] was confirmed in its position by King Grig the Liberator, who reigned over the Scots from 877 till 900.[2] 'He was the first,' says the chronicler, 'to give liberty to the Scottish Church, which previously was in servitude according to the institution and custom of the Picts.'[3] This Grig or Girg, whom an absurd legend has transformed into Gregory the Great, and whom the local traditions of the Mearns commemorate as 'St. Cyrus,' was a powerful king, and is said by the chronicler to have 'subdued all Ireland and almost all England.' It has been argued by Skene[4] that his gift of 'liberty' to the Church consisted only in freeing the clergy from secular exactions and servitudes; but both the language of the Chronicle and the general policy of Grig indicate a larger and more important emancipation. The Church ceased to be an appanage or chaplaincy of royalty and, as a centralized institution, received a title to guide its own affairs.

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[1] In the record of his predecessor's death by Marianus Scotus.

[2] See page 107.

[3] On St. Dunstan see below.

[4] Yet the normal conception of the English was that the Scots were redeemed from paganism by English influence. One chronicler alleges that in 926, on the occasion of a homage, 'the king of Scots gave up idolatry.'

This interpretation of the Chronicle accords with the next recorded stage of Church development. In the sixth year of Constantin III[5] (900-42 or '43), 'the king and Cellach the bishop, on the Hill of Belief, hard by the royal town of Scone, took oath for the maintenance of laws and regulations of the faith and the rights of the churches and the gospels on equal terms with the Scots.'[6] Cellach had been bishop at St. Andrews since the time of King Grig; and, after his compact with Constantin, St. Andrews, as his residence, was the religious capital of the kingdom, its bishops being known not as 'bishops of St. Andrews' but as 'bishops of Alban.'[1] The abandonment of Dunkeld[2] was probably due to a devastation of Dunkeld by the Danes which took place a few years before, but the essential matter is that with the growing solidity of the kingdom an arrangement between Church and State was formulated. The Picts and Scots were now subject to the same authority, the St. Andrews bishops of Alban taking the place of the Dunkeld bishops of Fortrenn. The dignity acquired by St. Andrews appeared immediately. When Constantin, exhausted by his strenuous career, abdicated in favour of his heir and became a monk, he was appointed abbot of St. Andrews, and, when he died, he was buried at St. Andrews[3] not, like King Grig, on Iona.

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[1] See page 114.

[2] So Hume Brown. Lang dates Grig's reign 'from 878 to 896.' Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 184) doubts if he held the office of king of the whole nation.

[3] 'Hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiae Scoticanae, quae sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum.'—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 151. For 'consuetudine' the *St. Andrews Register* (p. 154) reads 'constitutione.'

[4] *Celtic Scotland*, i. 333 ff. Joseph Robertson (*Statuta*, xviii), while accepting Skene's theory, ascribes it to 'learned ingenuity.'

[5] Lang (i. 44, 57) speaks of him as 'Constantin II.'

[6] 'Leges disciplinasque fidei atque iura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque pariter cum Scotis . . . devoverunt custodiri.'—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 9. Skene's interpretation of the words 'pariter cum Scotis' is accepted in the text. Robertson's rendering 'together with the Scots' is indefensible.

The Scottish Church, with a bishop at its head and in defined constitutional relations to the kings of Alban, was scarcely less at variance with the Church of England than nation was with nation. Lent was observed at a different date; Holy Communion was differently regarded; mass was celebrated in a fashion which seemed barbarous to English eyes and ears; the Lord's Day was not observed. Apart from such differences of usage, the Church was untouched by those constitutional and institutional developments through which the Church of England passed between the seventh and the eleventh century. There was no parallel to the division of England into dioceses, with bishops who met annually in Council, and into parishes each with its parson (*persona*). Donations to the Church are mentioned only now and then. They begin with a donation of the island of Lochleven made by the 'last king of the

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[1] Bishop Malduin is designated by both titles.—*Regist. Prior. S. Andreae*, p. 116. Grub defines the situation by saying that the bishops of St. Andrews 'had a see but not a diocese.'

[2] According to *Scotichronicon*, iv. 12, Abernethy was 'for some time (*per aliquot tempora*) the royal and pontifical capital of all Pictland; three elections were made in that church at a time when there was only a single bishop in Scotia.' Skene (ii. 310) thinks that Bower must have derived his statement from some valid tradition or record, but his use of 'all Pictland' and 'Scotia' suggests rather the use of two sources. As Hume Brown (i. 47) says, there is no satisfactory proof that Abernethy was ever the seat of the primacy.

[3] *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 151.

Picts' about the middle of the ninth century.[1] Between 970 and 994 King Kenneth, son of Malcolm, 'gave the great town of Brechin to the Lord.'[2] After the murder of Duncan, Macbeth and Gruoch, king and queen of the Scots, gave the land of Kirkness to the monks of Lochleven,[3] and, between 1028 and 1055, a bishop of St. Andrews conferred the church of Markinch upon the same monks.[4] No doubt there were unrecorded donations besides these four;[5] but the wholesale largesses by which English bishops and abbots were enriched, and the tithe system which became law in England under Eadgar (958-74), were as yet unknown in Scotland. In consequence, there was no parallel to the secular power of the Church, which in England led archbishops to be rated with ethelings and bishops with aldermen, and secured for the clergy a place in the Witan. Episcopacy was not, as in England, built into the social and political structure of the nation. Of military bishops and powerful lay-abbots there is scarcely a trace. One bishop of St. Andrews (in 954) is said to have been banished by a king, and two cases are recorded of abbots appearing on the battle-field.[6] With these exceptions, churchmen are not known to have taken part in public affairs. The recognition of the many-sided truth, that prior to the Norman Conquest the relation of the Church and churchmen to national life was widely different in England and Scotland, is essential to an understanding of the later religious history of the two nations.

Equally important was the difference between their relations to the see of Rome. After the Council of Whitby, as has been already shown,[7] the Romanizing of the English Church was rapid. The tendency was so far hindered, if not counteracted, by patriotic restiveness under foreign rule and by definite rebellion against papal exactions. But this whole matter, in its various bearings, was outside the purview of Ecclesia Scoticana. It is impossible, for example, to think of that Church having been placed under the ban, as England was from 808 till 814. The records of the changes made in its constitution are inconsistent with any subjection to the Roman Obedience. Indeed in the two centuries covered by this chapter the very name of Rome is mentioned only twice. About 970, after a murder at St. Andrews, two men, Leot and Sluagadach, are said to have 'gone out to Rome,' and it has been conjectured that the visit was connected with a vacant bishopric.[1] Again in 1050 Macbeth is recorded to have distributed money broadcast at Rome.[2] There is a good deal of interest in this guarantee for a connexion with Rome, furnished by the one personality of the period who has a place in classical literature, and the importance of the record is increased by the fact that Macbeth was also[3] a liberal benefactor of the Scottish Church. In Scotland, as in other distant parts of Christendom, Rome was regarded as possessing special access to the throne of grace, and a penitent might betake himself to her sacraments and ceremonies without disloyalty to the Church of his own land; yet there was no institutional or administrative connexion. Rome asserted no authority, discharged no function, exercised no continuous influence in the Scottish Church.

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[1] Skene places this donation a century earlier. See *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 4, 228.

[2] *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 10.

[3] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[5] The 'distribution of offerings both to churches and to clergy' by Malcolm II after the battle of Carham can scarcely be reckoned as an endowment.—Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 150.

[6] Grub, i. 176; Bellesheim, i. 224.

[7] See page 107 ff.

The practical severance of Scotland from Roman authority is symbolized by the fact that St. Andrew was now the acknowledged patron of the national Church. When King Nechtan abandoned the Columban usages, he and his subjects sealed the decision by accepting St. Peter as the patron saint of Pictland. Under Angus MacFergus the rising sense of national unity was connected by tradition with a new veneration for St. Andrew.[1] The connexion is vouched for by numerous legends, which blend events of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries in a confusion from which nothing definite can be extracted.[2] In several of them Regulus ('St. Rule') appears, but the functions assigned to him vary. Sometimes he is described as a bishop ruling secular clerics, sometimes as an abbot planting monasteries. A voyage of relic-bearers from Constantinople to Fife is described with a good deal of particularization but no semblance of historicity. The earliest of these legends is not earlier than the twelfth century, and must be set aside in favour of a few proved facts. Special veneration for St. Andrew was developed at Hexham in Northumbria at the beginning of the eighth century. A bishop of Hexham, Acca by name, imported relics of St. Andrew, and in 732 he was banished. The reasons for his banishment are unknown, but in his exile he founded a see 'in Candida,' by which probably, as Skene shows, Pictland generally may be intended. Bearing with him relics of the saint whom he specially revered, Acca settled in Fife at Kilrymont ('the cell of the king's cliff'), and his sacred burden imparted dignity and attractiveness to his place of settlement.[3] Kilrymont in the course of the ninth century became 'St. Andrews,' and its sanctity led to the selection of it, in the time of Constantin, as the centre of the national religion. The records of this transition are so vague that it is precarious to specify dates or even events.[4] The one matter historically certain is that between the middle of the eighth and the beginning of the tenth century the nation assumed a separate saint.[1]

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[1] *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 10. The statement of Bower (*Scot.*, vi. 24) that the new bishop was the first bishop to go to Rome for confirmation has no validity. Yet it is interesting that so uncritical an adherent of the papal system as Bower should think that the official relationship to Rome implied in 'confirmation' began in the tenth century.

[2] Marianus Scotus writes: 'Rex Scotiae Macbethad Romae argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.' Florence of Worcester omits 'pauperibus' and writes 'spargendo' for 'seminando.' Lord Hailes, in his keen anti-Romanism, adopts the reading of Florence and contends that Macbeth bribed the Curia. That Macbeth distributed his alms in person is not definitely stated but is clearly implied.

[3] See pages 122 and 126 n. 1.

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[1] See page 113.

[2] Skene has sifted the traditions.—*Celtic Scotland*, i. 296 ff., ii. 221, 261-275. Grub (i. 132) places the erection of a bishopric at St. Andrews between 821 and 833.

[3] Definite confirmation of this movement appears in the fact that both at Hexham and at St. Andrews dedications to St. Andrew were combined with dedications to St. Mary and St. Michael.—Skene, ii. 272, 273.

[4] The nearest approach to a probable date is in *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 387—'In the year of God 761 the relics of St. Andrew the Apostle came into Scotland'; but the Chronicle, writes Skene, is 'not a very early one.'

When we look more closely at the ministrations of religion, we are faced by a problem which has assumed many phases since the scientific study of history began, and has not yet been wholly solved.[2] The church at St. Andrews was a monastic one[3] and its monks were 'Culdees.' The same holds good of the religious foundations of Dunkeld, Brechin, Lochleven, Rosemarkie, Dornoch, Dunblane, Lismore, Abernethy, Muthil, Monifieth, Monymusk, Glasgow, and indeed of every important Church centre of the period.[4] The relation of these 'Culdee' settlements to the Christianity of Alban is the moot problem.

It has been assumed by several historians that, when Nechtan enforced upon the Picts the southern Easter and tonsure, the Columban monks gave place to Irish or English clerics who were 'secular,' *i.e.* non-monastic, and that during the Dark Age such incomers were mainly responsible for the ministrations of religion.[5] This assumption, however, is not consistent with the evidence of Bede, who expressly states that ministri altaris' as well as monks complied with Nechtan's order.[6] Nor is there the slightest evidence of any subsequent evangelizing either from the south or from Ireland. Indeed the relations of Alban with England were steadily hostile, and approach from Ireland was barred by the Norsemen. The idea that there was a 'main development'[7] of the Church, distinct from the settlements which are styled 'Culdee,' is an hypothesis for which no proof has been tendered, while the counter-evidence that the Culdees represented the religion of the country is varied and convincing. Their settlements at Dunkeld and at St. Andrews were the religious capitals. To them and them alone grants of land by kings and bishops are recorded.[1] The first royal grant to churchmen was made 'to God omnipotent, to St. Servanus and to Culdee hermits.' When Constantin, the adjuster of relations between Church and State, laid down his sceptre,[2] it was in a Culdee monastery that he became a monk. Ten years later a St. Andrews bishop (Fothath or Fothadh) who came into collision with his king, entered into a special agreement with the Culdees of Lochleven, undertaking to supply them with clothing and food on condition of their granting him a 'place for a cell' (*locus cellulae*).[3] The first bishop of Fortrenn at Dunkeld and the first bishop of Alban at St. Andrews were 'Culdees.'[4] In view of such facts, the natural conclusion is that the Culdees were identified with, not dissenters from, 'the main development of Christianity.'

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[1] The last emphatic assertion of the patronage of St. Columba, which had been maintained among the pure Scots, is found in 909. The *Irish Annals* of that year record that the 'men of Fortrenn' always fight under the crosier of St. Columba and conquer by his might.—Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 145.

[2] The hypothesis of Skene, put forth in 1876, can no longer be accepted. See Note F.

[3] The monastic character of the St. Andrews foundation was unaffected by the fact that it was the seat of the 'Bishop of Alban.' On the distinctive position of St. Andrews see below.

[4] See Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 32-3.

[5] Skene, i. 299.

[6] *H. E.*, v. 21.

[7] So Hume Brown, i. 47. Zimmer (p. 101) speaks of 'Roman clerics pouring in from Northumberland' and of the Culdees as 'stop-gaps.'

The word Culdee or Keledei, which means 'friend of God' or 'servant of God,'[5] is applied to monks elsewhere than in Scotland. Ten applications of it to monks in Ireland[6] have been adduced, the most notable of them being to 'Angus the Culdee,' who flourished at the beginning of the ninth century.[7] His predecessor, St. Maelruain, is the traditionary author of a metrical set of canonical rules.[1] A settlement of specially devout monks at York, who in 936 attracted the admiration of King Athelstan by their extreme sanctity, are styled 'Culdee,'[2] and the same title is given to the monks at Bardsey in Carnarvonshire, who are expressly said to be celibate.[3] In no document written before the twelfth century is the word used to describe any special system or rule of monastic life. It is applied not to a certain Order of monks to distinguish them from other Orders, but to individuals and communities of various Orders as an epithet of quality. From the thirteenth century onwards, it was used to describe those who clung to the conventual usages of early centuries, but not exclusively. At as late a date as 1595, the Four Masters speak of the Dominicans of Sligo as 'Culdees,' although the Dominican Order did not come into existence till 1215.[4] This being the application of the term outside Scotland, there is no reason for believing that in Scotland it was applied to one genus or Order of monks.

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[1] By Kenneth (971-95); Malcolm Mackenneth (1004-54); Macbeth (1050); Bishop Malduin (1028-55); Bishop Fothadh (1059-93)? The grant of St. Serf's by King Brude is attested by a tenth-century charter. Probably Brude's date was *circa* 843; but the writer of the charter uses the language of his own times when he calls the monks Culdees.—*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 229.

[2] See page 121.

[3] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 4, 229. Cf. Grub., i. 175; Bellesheim, i. 222. Lawrie dates this 'before 955'; Haddan and Stubbs, '955.' The grant of 'locus cellulae' was made 'precario,' *i.e.* the alienation was partial. Haddan and Stubbs (II. i. 147), consider the charter to be a transference of 'the island.'

[4] *Book of Deer*, cxxiii.

[5] The derivation of it from 'cultores dei' is a blunder of Hector Boece (1526). Most Scottish records have 'keledeus'; Irish, 'colideus' or 'coelicola.'

[6] These are collated by Bishop Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 6-25. In 1031 monks of Clonmacnoise are called 'Culdees,' without any hint that they were a distinct Order.

[7] In the Annals of Ulster (920 or 921) the people of God who had charge of the house of prayer at Armagh are termed 'Keledei.' Reeves departs from his usual impartiality by assuming that this 'designation' implies that there were or ought to have been other monks at Armagh.—*The Culdees*, pp. 10, 80. In his own language, it is here as elsewhere an 'epithet of sanctity.'

Many strange accounts of the Culdees as a separate or dissenting Order have been woven even in recent years, but they all rest upon the idea that because the Culdees were 'dissenters' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they were so originally. The evidence on this matter is conclusive. When in the eleventh century—here the narrative must for a moment be anticipated—the Romanized English clergy came face to face with Ecclesia Scoticana, they recognized no two types of its monastic life; the only monks they encountered were those of the 'Culdee' settlements. Similarly, when in 1190 Jocelyn manufactured his *Life* of Kentigern,[5] he expressly alleged that Kentigern was a

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[1] *The Culdees*, p. 7.

[2] That they were orthodox is proved by the fact that they had charge of St. Peter's church. They furnish a unique example of the survival of Scottish Church usages in Northumbria. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI. ii. 607; Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 59, 144.

[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, when giving an account of a visit to Bardsey in 1188, speaks of a 'small island inhabited by monks of a most devoted character, who are called caelibes or colidei.'

[4] Quoted by Reeves, p. 82.

[5] Jocelyn's *Life* has, as we have seen, little value as history, but it reflects his own times clearly.

Culdee, in order to make good his place in the succession of Glasgow bishops.[1] His words deserve to be quoted, as they exhibit Scottish monasticism as it appeared to an Englishman at the close of the twelfth century.

> 'They were accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils, intent on psalms and prayers and meditation on the divine law, content with modest diet and dress and employed in manual labour at fixed seasons and hours; for after the fashion of the primitive Church under the Apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, living with due sobriety, justice and piety, and with very great continence, they yet dwelt, as did St. Kentigern himself, each in his own cot (*in singulis casulis*), from the time when they had ripened in age and in wisdom; whence, too, those "singular" clerics (*singulares clerici*) were styled by the common people "calledei."'[2]

Culdee, then, was a popular name for the monastic clergy, who were the only ministers of the Ecclesia Scoticana.[3] They lived apart from secular life in companies, numbering usually twelve with a prior or abbot or provost at their head. Each had a cell or chamber for himself. Marriage was permitted, but married men were not allowed to take their wives into their cells.[4] They were not elected nor appointed to office. Son succeeded father, as heir to privileges and fortunes. They conducted worship, practised charity towards the poor, and were much occupied with the study of the Bible. One man in each settlement held the office of Confessor, bearing the title of amchara (soul-friend) which had been in use in Iona.[5] The amcharas received gifts from those who confessed to them. Some of them incurred blame for selfish appropriation of such gifts; others declined emoluments and urged grateful penitents to bestow alms upon the poor. No charge of immorality has been recorded against them. Although they tended to become secular and sluggish, the tendency was not universal. Many of their settlements were, like the Culdee foundations in Carnarvonshire, composed wholly of celibates, fervent and ascetic in their devotions. Much seems to have depended upon the site of each settlement, and that was determined partly by their own choice, partly by the liberality of devout chieftains. Sometimes, as was frequently the case in Ireland, they received from chieftains lands which had belonged to druids, and such donations involved varying obligations to render secular service to the clan. Where the piety in which they had originated was maintained, their settlements were frequented by pilgrims. There are indications that the pilgrims received religious instruction from the monks. In some settlements a reader, or man of learning (*ferleiginn*), was set apart for the purpose, and a band of scholars (*scologs*) existed here and there—men who were in training for the service of the Church. Where there was a bishop, as at St. Andrews, he was elected by the Culdees, but the whole question of 'orders' and of the authority of the bishops of Alban over the separate communities is in darkness, so that the student may repeat, without any disparagement, the verdict of the contemporary English bishops: 'from whom they derived orders, or whether they were ordained at all, we do not know.'[1] Sometimes Church properties passed by descent into the hands of unordained persons, whose interests were entirely secular,[2] and the acting monks were sorely straitened in their service. Yet as a whole they retained simplicity and purity, with enough of religious fervour to secure the maintenance and slow diffusion of Christianity. Through their ministrations Scotland emerged from its darkness as an avowedly Christian country, with a religion ruder and more provincial than that of the south, yet free from stains and scars such as now marred the southern Church.

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[1] See page 26.

[2] Jocelyn evidently derives 'calledei' from 'casulae.'—*Vita Kentigerni*, xx.

[3] 'The whole ecclesiastical fabric was constructed on the monastic foundation and its entire economy regulated by the discipline of conventual life.'—Reeves, p. 28.

[4] On the celibacy of the Culdees see Note G.

[5] See page 57.

The monasticism of England passed through a crisis in the tenth century. Apart from the moral deterioration of the monasteries, to which reference has already been made, there arose in them a hybrid Order of Canons, men bound by vow to chastity and obedience but not to renunciation of property—'impostures of clerics.'[1] Against these irregularities St. Dunstan from 960 to 988, with the aid of Oda, Oswald and Ethelwold, waged war with a severity which led to a reaction.[2] In Scotland no such movement can be traced. The ministers of religion might indeed be styled 'impostures of clerics' by a careful churchman, who blamed them for marrying or regarded their orders as invalid. There is, however, no evidence either of their moral decline or of a movement towards reform. An elaborate attempt has been made to represent the Culdees as an 'offshoot' of the old Columban Church which in the ninth century was brought into line with continental monachism, but the proof submitted is shadowy and fanciful; and the theory[3] itself is so much at variance with historical facts that it must be ranked as a counterpart to the endeavour of controversial Protestants to demonstrate that the Culdees were presbyterians.

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[1] See page 104.

[2] Under King Duff (961-5) an abbot of Dunkeld died in battle, as did another Dunkeld abbot in 1045. The latter married King Malcolm's daughter. See Bellesheim, i. 224, 233; Grub, i. 176. See page 122 *supra*.

The Metrical Rule of the Keledei, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and ascribed to St. Carthach of Lismore, who died in 636, may be a modernized version of their original Rule; but it serves to indicate that the traditional tone of the Culdees was devout and free from the spirit of schism.[4]

'If we be under the yoke of clergyhood,
Noble is our calling:
We frequent the holy church
At every canonical hour.
When we hear the little bell,
The tribute is indispensable;
We lift up a ready heart
And cast down our faces:
We sing a Pater and a Gloria,
That no curse fall upon us;

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[1] So Florence of Worcester terms them. At Worcester many of them were married men.

[2] On Beornhelm, the Scotic bishop, who took part in the English contest, see Note G.

[3] This theory is examined in Note F.

[4] The translation is from Reeves with a few alterations.—*The Culdees*, pp. 82-3. No argument can be based upon the dim figure of Carthach.—*Vitae Sanct. Hib.*, i. 170 ff.

We consecrate the breast and face
With the sign of Christ's cross.
As we enter the church,
We kneel three times;
We bend not the knee, only
On the Sundays of the living God.[1]
We celebrate, and we instruct,
Without weakness and without sorrow.
Noble is the Person we invoke,
The Lord of the heaven of clouds.
We watch, we read, we pray,
Each according to his strength,

. . . . .

As it is appointed to each
From tierce to none.
The youth for humility,
According to the law;
For the property of the devil
Is a body that hath pride.
Labour for the illiterate,
Guided by pious clerics:
The wise man's work is with his mouth,
The unlearned work with their hands.
Celebration each canonical hour
With each order we perform:
Three genuflexions before celebration,
Three more after it.
Silence and fervour,
Tranquillity without guile,
Without murmur or contention,
Are due from everyone.'

NOTE F. Pages 125 and 130.

Skene's theory as to the Culdees.

Skene's theory rests upon the idea first set forth by Reeves (*The Culdees*, *passim*)—(1) That the Culdees sprang from ascetics or eremites who were styled Deicolae or searchers for a high form of religious life; (2) that after a period of irregularity and extravagance they became subject to canons of the Catholic Church;

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[1] *I.e.* 'On Sundays alone we refrain from kneeling.' According to primitive usage and œcumenical enactment, standing was the proper attitude in prayer on the Lord's Day.—Hefele, *History of Church Councils*, i. 434.

(3) that in the course of the tenth century their discipline relaxed or they were secularized.

Of the processes numbered (1) and (3) no evidence is tendered, and indeed none is needed, for there can be no dispute that monasticism in North Britain, as elsewhere, originated in lofty aims and tended to deteriorate. The one historical question is whether the monks of Alban had or had not any actual connexion with contemporary developments of the 'Catholic' Church.

In the year 747 Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, issued a set of canons, regulating the life of the clergy within his diocese and ordaining that they should live a canonical life. The 'canonici' so regulated were 'intermediate between monks and secular priests' (Reeves, p. 10). Chrodegang's Rule was enlarged and adopted by a Church Council held at Aix in 817 and became the law of the western Church. Skene's theory is that in 811 this Rule was transmitted to Ireland and accepted there by the 'keledei,' and that afterwards it was brought over to Alban and imposed upon, or accepted by, the Culdees, who had previously been stray hermits loosely associated, and had filled irregularly some of the vacancies created by the expulsion of the monks of Iona in 710. Thus, he argues, they became a canonical Order of the Roman Church.

The evidence that the Irish Keledei accepted Chrodegang's canons is the following entry in the *Irish Annals*:—

'In this year (806, *i.e.* 811) the Celédé came over the sea with dry feet, without a vessel, and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish; and it was carried up again when the sermon was finished. This son of the Church used to go every day southward across the sea after finishing his sermon.'—Four Masters, *Chronicon Scotorum*, 811.

The date here given is evidently too early—six years at least before the date at which Chrodegang's canons became Church law. Further, the entry makes no reference to the introduction of usages or institutions, and suggests rather a revival of popular religion, in which a Culdee was the chief agent.

The evidence for the transmission of the canons from Ireland to Scotland is still less satisfactory. Skene varies in his dates. He argues (ii. 276) that they were adopted about 815, without adducing relevant documentary evidence; again (ii. 324), he gives 921 as the date, quoting the following sentence from the Four Masters: 'Maenach a Cele-de came across the sea from the west to establish the ordinances of Erin.' The same sentence, however, is translated by Reeves in quite a different sense: 'Maenach a Cele-de came across the sea westwards to establish laws in Erin.'

Even if Skene is right and Reeves wrong in the translation, a statement as to what happened in 910 proves nothing as to the origin of a 'Culdee Order.'

Apart from the slenderness of such evidences, the canons of Chrodegang referred to a type of Church life differing widely from the Culdee institutions. The Culdees of Alban, *e.g.*, lived in separate cells, whereas Chrodegang's canons forbid monks to live in separate cells without special permission. In other conspicuous features the two types of life were radically unlike. That the unlikeness was the result of moral and spiritual deterioration is a mere hypothesis.

An epitome of the Culdee controversy down to 1860 is given by Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 67-77. Cf. also Reeves and Skene, *passim*; Ebrard, *Culdäische Kirche*; Hartung, *Forschungen*; Möller, *History of the Christian Church*, ii. 103; Hunt, *The English Church*, pp. 239, 372; *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1898; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 175-82; Robertson, *Statuta*, ccix. ff.

NOTE G. PAGE 128.

Were the Culdees celibate?

Myln, in his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld* (Bannatyne Club ed., p. 4), states that married Culdees were required to separate from their wives when on duty. On such a matter a careless sixteenth-century writer is not a final authority; but the *History of the Foundation of the Church of St. Andrews* says: 'postquam Keledei effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis, sed nec alias de quibus mala oriatur suspicio mulieris.' Grub (i. 236) contends that after induction they were obliged to part with their wives altogether; but he fails to explain away the statement of the *History of the Foundation* that there was 'carnalis successio'; that phrase in its context could not well mean 'inheritance from uncles, cousins, etc.' Grub also lays undue stress on the fact that Queen Margaret and her allies did not censure the Culdees for their non-acceptance of celibacy. To say that they were monks and therefore celibate is to beg the question, which is—To what extent were they 'monks' in the technical sense? In the eleventh century there were married *clerics* in every part of Christendom. It is probable that the Culdees were allowed to marry, with restrictions. Although the evidence for this is not absolutely conclusive, no proof that they were celibate has been produced.

Osbern in his *Vita S. Dunstani* says that at the Council of Calne (978) the opponents of the rule of celibacy were reinforced by an 'invincible' and learned Scotic bishop, Beornhelm. Grub (i. 231) and Perry (p. 115) think that he came from Scotland; but he may have been an Irishman. In the tenth century Ireland was often termed 'Scotia.'—Skene, i. 4. The case therefore cannot be regarded as evidence.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH WORSHIP AND LIFE

Irregularity of ministrations—Church buildings—Ritual of worship—Education and civilization—Religious art—Position of women—Pagan superstitions—Incomplete Christianizing of Scotland.

In the preceding chapters the agencies and organism of the Church have been presented historically, so far as it is possible to trace their course through the centuries that followed the death of Columba. Monastic settlements with a missionary purpose were planted in localities determined partly by the convenience of sites, partly by the receptiveness of chiefs and clans. These settlements were under the control of their respective abbots or priors, who recognized the Abbot of Iona as their ecclesiastical superior. At the beginning of the eighth century Iona lost distinction and importance. On the mainland the growing Church came into line with the growing nation. The leadership was transferred first to Dunkeld then to St. Andrews, and the head of the Church became a bishop—bishop first of Fortrenn then of Alban.

In those five centuries there is no trace of any further ecclesiastical organization or hierarchy. Bishops, who discharged their specific office of ordaining and were therefore essential to Church life, were not associated with bishoprics in the classical sense. They had neither dioceses nor official seats. Thus the saint Blane, who was the traditional founder of a settlement at Dunblane, was a bishop, but that fact did not make Dunblane a bishopric. Although the monastery of Kingarth, on the island of Bute, had two bishops in succession as its abbots, there was no bishopric of Kingarth. On the death of the later of the two, in 689, the abbacy passed into the hands of a presbyter. Kentigern was the reputed bishop of Glasgow, but when, in the twelfth century, the ecclesiastically minded Earl David made an 'enquiry' into the religious history of Glasgow, he found that, though Kentigern had had 'several successors' in ancient days, the see had been obliterated for 'great intervals of times.' At St. Andrews the bishop was elected by and loosely incorporated in the local brotherhood. The relations between the bishop of the nation, who appears first in 849, and the other bishops, who had neither dioceses nor titles, cannot even be surmised.[1] Although there was doubtless some method in the distribution of episcopates throughout the land, it must have been a precarious one, and it was certainly not developed into a Church fabric. The stress laid upon crosiers and their decoration proves nothing with regard to the dignity of the episcopal office, for crosiers were borne by abbots and unofficial saints.[2]

Equally undefined were the ministrations of religion by the monks. They were neither distributed nor controlled by any ecclesiastical authority. On two occasions, when questions of usage had to be settled, mention is made of meetings for deliberation convened by royalty.[3] On the one occasion 'the learned,' on the other 'the pious,' are said to have attended, and on both occasions the decision reached was declared by the sovereign. Yet these cases occurred at the very beginning and at the very end of the period, and their significance must not be pressed as though they represented a regular usage. In Ireland the district to which a 'family' ministered came to be known as its 'parochia,' or 'fairche,' or 'diocese,' and synods were held of related 'families'; but there is no likelihood that this development reached Scotland. Nor can the mode of life followed be designated as a system. There is no trace of a canonical rule,[1] or of regulations which might have checked the dangers attendant upon the transmission of abbacies to next of kin. Without any breach of law a co-arb might refrain from being ordained and transfer his religious duties to a neighbour, retaining a portion of the abbey properties for himself and for his children.[2] Similarly, when a priest attached himself as chaplain to a chief, it lay with him and with the chief alone to regulate the services he rendered. If ecclesiastical organization and stated rules are essentials of a Church, the title 'Church' may reasonably be denied to Ecclesia Scoticana in the times of the Keledei.

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[1] In view of the functions discharged by bishops in all Celtic Churches, it may be assumed that the tradition repeated by Bower as to there having been 'only one bishop in Scotia' at the close of the ninth century (see page 121 n. 2) refers only to bishops with fixed seats. When in 950 the 'bishop of the nation' made an agreement at St. Andrews with the St. Serf Culdees, he bestowed a malediction upon bishops who should interfere with or revoke the agreement.—*Regist. Prior. S. Andreae*, p. 117. Possibly the malediction was intended for his successors, not for his contemporaries; but the existence in that age of bishops other than the bishop of the nation is now admitted by all historians.

[2] The crosier was 'the most characteristic mark of Christian missionaries . . . borne by female saints as well as male.'—*Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, clxxvi. ff.

[3] Viz. the meeting convened by Nechtan as described by Bede, and the meeting convened by Queen Margaret as described by Turgot.

Of the church buildings we can speak with some certainty. It is true that only ruins survive, and that none of these can be assigned to a special date,[3] but they suffice to show that the type followed was that of the Scoto-Irish Church. The monastery was surrounded for purposes of defence by a cashel, rath, or wall, such as protected the royal residences of the Celts. Within the cashel were the dwellings of the monks—bee-hive cells, sometimes rectangular, and measuring at the largest 15 × 12 feet—and the church, or churches if the settlement was a large one. Churches were built of wood, not from necessity, but in obedience to a tradition, *mos Scoticus.* High authorities have stated that some may have been built of stone, but there is no doubt that, after the seventh century, stone buildings were regarded as a token of 'Romanizing' or 'Gallicizing,' and were disliked by the faithful.[1] The churches were very small—a shade larger than the monks' dwellings. The dimensions of the wooden churches may be assumed to have been the same as those of the first stone churches. The earliest type of these, both in Ireland and in Alban, averaged 15 × 10 feet, and in Alban they seem never to have passed 23 or 24 feet in length. They consisted of a rectangular chamber without apse, and were entered by a single low door and lighted by one small window. In Ireland the architecture was sometimes more complex, with a nave and chancel, the two sections being linked by a more or less developed arch. Yet it cannot be definitely proved that this style was ever followed in Scotland. In the lonelier islands, where monks often made their homes, there were deviations from the normal type, a cashel not being required, and unhewn stone being used as the only available material.[2] Of ornament or decoration there was nothing, although the monks had considerable attainment in the decorative arts. The type of structure is unique, its principal features being 'rudeness of construction, simplicity of form, insignificance of dimensions, and the total absence of any type of refinement.'[3]

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[1] On the so-called Rule of Columba see page 54 n. 1. The statement of Wilfrid, recorded by Bede, that Colman followed 'regula et praecepta' proves nothing about the usages of the Dark Age in Scotland.

[2] By Joseph Robertson and Skene this process of 'secularization' has been both exaggerated and antedated. The evidence that lands were gifted to the Church before the tenth century is practically nil; the examples which Robertson and Skene adduce are usually as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That co-arbs who held Church properties without being ordained were 'lay-abbots' is a mere hypothesis.—*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. 236.

[3] 'It is impossible to say to what century any of the specimens is to be assigned. The antiquity of the type is totally different from the antiquity of the specimen.'—*Ibid.*, i. 101.

That these features were due to some treasured tradition or to veneration for a model given by early Scottish saints, rather than to poverty or ignorance,[4] is proved by the care and decorum with which worship was conducted and by the literary attainments of the worshippers. Columba brought over from Ireland the Celtic ritual in which he had been trained, and the close connexion which was maintained with Ireland for more than a century after his death makes it certain that, although there may have been deviations, the same method of worship was propagated by the Iona missionaries. Celtic worship had distinctive features besides those already mentioned.[1] Confession was practised, not in connexion with the eucharist, but as a separate exercise, directed by special officials acting under the abbot's rules.[2] Church singing had a character which offended southern ears, and there was a larger variety in the choice of collects than Roman ritual furnished. The chief distinction lay in the central act of worship, the Holy Communion office, which was probably administered in accordance with the Gallican liturgy.[3] The Gallican office, which differed from the Roman in the stages at which the gospel was read and the benediction pronounced, and in other matters regarded as important by ancient and modern liturgists,[4] was undoubtedly eastern in origin; yet it derived its oriental character not directly from the east but from the Churches of North Italy,[5] and the use of it by the Scots cannot be regarded as an evidence of direct connexion with the eastern Churches. After the downfall of Iona there was inevitably a good deal of irregularity. The Culdees came to have a 'rite of their own,'[6] and 'in some districts' the celebration had, by the eleventh century, elements which seemed barbarous to Roman churchmen.[7] Although there were such divergences, they were not radical. The resemblance to the Latin ritual was so close that the Scottish ritual was in use at York at the beginning of the ninth century.[8] In a surviving fragment of a prayer-book used in the far north about the same date,[9] creed and prayers differ from the Latin and the Gallican only verbally, while close guidance is given to the officiating priest. Generally, the celebration was conducted with scrupulous care and with a reverence passing into awe. The worship rendered in these lowly sanctuaries was the same in scope and tone as found voice in the noble churches of Constantinople, Rome and Canterbury.

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[1] Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 315 ff. The church of Chester-le-Street, where Cuthbert's remains were laid, was exceptional.—Stuart, *Book of Deer*, cl. and clv.

[2] The church on the island of North Rona measures only 11 ft. 6 in. × 7 ft. 6 in.

[3] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. 128.

[4] Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 191.

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[1] See pages 87-9.

[2] See page 57.

[3] We say 'probably,' because the idea that one liturgy was enforced throughout the 'Celtic area' rests upon the supposition that the Roman desire for uniformity prevailed among the Celts. In religion, as in all else, Celtic life was marked by spontaneity. In Ireland there were many varieties of 'mass' in the ages with which we are dealing, and it is almost certain that there were varieties in Scotland. That a liturgy was used is certain, but there is no evidence of 'an ancient Scottish liturgy' used throughout the country.

[4] See Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.*

[5] Milan, which in the fourth century exercised an Imperial influence, was frequently the meeting-place of oriental bishops. Duchesne has shown that English liturgists have looked unwarrantably to Lyons as the link between the Gallicans and the east.—*Christian Worship*, p. 90 ff.

[6] 'Suum officium more suo celebrabant.'—*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 190.

[7] 'In aliquibus locis . . . nescio quo barbaro ritu.'—*Vita S. Margaretae*, c. 8. Skene minimizes the 'barbarity,' by suggesting that it means using the vernacular instead of Latin.—*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 349.

[8] Alcuin, *Ep.*, lxv.

[9] *Book of Deer*, pp. 89-94. On the authority of the *Book of Deer* see below.

The constrast between the edifices and the ritual used by worshippers becomes more emphatic when we consider the occupations and attainments of the monks. Columba's zeal and proficiency in transcribing were more than a tradition with his successors. While they boasted indeed of his performances, ascribing to him the most famous product of Celtic caligraphy,[1] they themselves practised the same craft, and went beyond reproduction of the work of others. Adamnan, his biographer, was, it need hardly be said, no mere copyist. Some passages in his memoir show deft and finished skill. Bede terms him 'a good and wise man, excellently versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures.' When a Gallic bishop, Arculf, returning from Palestine, was driven by storm to Iona, Adamnan entertained him hospitably, and embodied the account he gained from him of his travels in a *Treatise on Holy Places*, which holds a place of honour in such literature. But Adamnan did not stand alone as a scholar among the Iona monks. In their Northumbrian centre, even lowlier outwardly than the Iona buildings, they gave scholarship a productive home. Although the literary activity of Lindisfarne reached its height after the Iona monks had withdrawn, such products as the *Gospel of Lindisfarne* are not of the kind which spring up in a night on untilled soil. Nor did Colman and his brethren, tenaciously as they clung to Scotic tradition, ignore the authority of the Fathers in the famous debate at Whitby.[2] Their horizon was limited, but they were not unlearned men, and there is no reason for thinking that they ceased to be studious when they returned to Iona. Who the 'learned men' were who took counsel with King

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[1] On Columba's manuscripts see page 56.

[2] See page 94.

Nechtan in 710 is uncertain, but the arguments to which they yielded were not of the kind by which the illiterate are impressed, and Bede attests the fact that in 731 Picts as well as Scots read the Bible in Latin.[1] For the three following centuries the evidence is necessarily vague and fragmentary, and yet the darkness is not total. It may be assumed that the cessation of missionary enterprise was accompanied by decline in literary diligence, but there are indications, some definite, others vague, that the decline was only partial.

1. A letter addressed by Alcuin to the monks of Candida Casa refers to erudite verses which had been transmitted to him from York containing the praises of St. Ninian.[2] The occasion of the correspondence has some interest. Alcuin was at the time Abbot of St. Martin's at Tours. The church of Candida Casa had been named after St. Martin by St. Ninian, and it was natural that Alcuin's York friends should send to him verses composed at the Scottish St. Martin's the founder of which had been a pupil of the same saint. The noteworthy matter, however, is that a poem which a scholar like Alcuin pronounces 'erudite' emanated from a monastery in so wild a district.

2. In Celtic monasteries a place of high importance was held by the *ferleiginn*, *i.e.* reader or scribe, who not only transcribed books but was responsible for the literary work of the monastery. The dignity of the office is shown by the fact that an Irish Council of the eighth century fixed the compensation for the life of the ferleiginn at the same rate as for the life of a bishop or abbot. In Alban we find more than one case in which a ferleiginn entered into independent authorship. The life of St. Regulus contained in the Register of St. Andrews was written at the request of a king's son by the ferleiginn Thomas.[3]

3. The monasteries discharged an educational function, both in preparing young men for the priesthood and in educating laymen. It is doubtful if the *scolocs*, or

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, i. 1.

[2] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 3, 226-8.

[3] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. 136; *Book of Deer*, cxxxiv.

scologs, who are mentioned in early charters were in every case students.[1] Sometimes they appear to have been adherents of the settlements, who rendered industrial service and occupied the position of vassals. It cannot be proved indeed that schools in the modern sense 'were parts of the old Celtic equipment,'[2] but there is ground for believing that in the larger monasteries methodical instruction was given to those who frequented the ministrations of the monks.[3] Besides such writing as was done in Latin, there was an uncertain amount of vernacular composition. The Ogham script was in use, and twelfth-century documents refer to 'old books of the Picts' and to charters written in Scottish idiom.[4] As the ninth century advanced, preaching in the vernacular seems to have become usual. The attainments of those bilingual monks must have been considerable.

4. Some learned writers have attached much evidential value to a list of sixteen books preserved in the St. Andrews Register, and frequently described as 'The Culdee Library of St. Serf's.' The books were conveyed by an episcopal charter of 1152 or 1153 to the Austin canons, who at that date supplanted the St. Serf Culdees, and it has been assumed that they belonged to the ejected monks. Although mainly liturgical, they include a commentary, several books of the Bible, and two or three theological works, such as the Sentences of St. Bernard, the writings of Prosper and perhaps of Origen. These have been regarded as an attestation of Culdee scholarship. The evidence, however, that they once were the property of Culdees is defective, and it seems probable that they were presented to the Austin canons by the St. Andrews bishop from his own resources. In any case the list cannot have been drawn up before 1144. At the most, therefore, it indicates the interests of the Culdees who survived till the twelfth century, and shows that the

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[1] There are traces of a higher grade of scholar—the *macleiginn*, or 'sons of reading.'—*Chart. of Lindores*, liv.

[2] Edgar, *History of Education in Scotland*, p. 82.

[3] Robertson, *Scholastic Offices in Scotican Church* (Spalding Miscellany), vol. v.; Stuart, Introduction to *Book of Deer*, cxxxvii. ff.

[4] Mackinnon, *Early Scottish Culture*, p. 229; *Book of Deer*, lxviii.; *Regist. Prior. S. Andreae*, p. 113.

range of their studies did not go beyond the pale of catholic orthodoxy.[1]

5. More important is the evidence supplied by the Book of Deer, a manuscript in the possession of the University of Cambridge. The manuscript has been overwritten on the margins and blank pages with documents referring to the donation and transfer of Church properties in Buchan. All of these insertions are in Gaelic belonging to the end of the eleventh century, except one in Latin which cannot be of earlier date than 1150. They purport to record the foundation of a monastery by Columba, and, when first published in 1869, they were welcomed as a unique revelation of the political and religious life of the sixth century.[2] More careful scrutiny, however, shows that their historical value is limited to the proof they give that, at the close of the Culdee period, Gaelic and Latin were the official languages of clerics in Buchan, and that St. Columba and St. Drostan were then held in honour as religious founders. The manuscript itself, however, which was written not later than the ninth century, is an important attestation of the religious life of Scotland, within the Celtic area if not necessarily at Deer. It contains the first six chapters of St. Matthew and part of the seventh chapter, the first four chapters of St. Mark and part of the fifth, the first three chapters of St. Luke and a verse of the fourth, the whole of the Fourth Gospel, a fragment of an office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Apostles' Creed. The version of Scripture is that of the Vulgate with occasional readings from earlier versions.[3] There are mistakes which show that the scribe was a fair but inexact scholar. The whole manuscript is in Latin, except one Gaelic rubric in the same hand directing the priest—'Here hand him the sacrifice.' The

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[1] For the improbability that the 'library' ever belonged to Culdees see Note H on 'The Culdee Library.'

[2] Extravagant value was attached to the documents by Stokes, Cosmo Innes, Stuart and Skene. See *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 219, 220 ff. Lawrie 'doubts if there was a monastery at Deer prior to 1215.'

[3] There is no other evidence as to the version of the Bible used in Scotland in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. Generalizations from a single instance are unjustifiable.

lettering is that of English and Irish manuscripts of the ninth century, and the ornamentation, which consists of coloured pictures and elaborate tracery, is of the kind in vogue with Celtic scribes at a still earlier date. Although the artistic skill and finish are inferior to those shown in Irish manuscripts of the same century, the workmanship is of the same school, and the inferiority is less than might have been expected in a remote part of Pictland.

6. The general conception of the civilization of the times which such data furnish is confirmed by miscellaneous and fragmentary evidence. With a measure of agricultural progress and the beginnings of a trade in textiles,[1] considerable progress had been made in decorative handicrafts. While special skill was shown in the manufacture of brooches, and of spectacle-shaped ornaments to which no religious significance can be attached, equal pains were bestowed upon church furnishings, such as crosiers and bells. The crosier or pastoral staff (*bachall*) of saints, to which miraculous powers were ascribed, figures largely in Scoto-Irish legend, and in Scotland the manufacture of such symbols was a highly developed industry. Dedicated to the most famous saints from St. Ninian downwards, they were entrusted to hereditary keepers, through whose carefulness specimens have reached modern times to attest the æsthetic sense and technical skill of their makers.[2] In the early Celtic Church, wherever it found a home, a mystic value was attached to service-bells and their shrines or cases.[3] In the *Life* of Columba the bell of the saint is repeatedly named with reverence, and, although only two specimens of Scottish bell-shrines have been preserved, bells of bronze and iron, some with cross-shaped mounting and enamel decoration, which have been found in the remote glens of Fortingall and Struan, prove that the distinctive

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[1] Cochran-Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, pp. 4, 106, etc.

[2] *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, clxxvi. ff. ; *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, ii. 316 ; Gougaud, p. 325. Jocelyn shows that there had been growth in art by contrasting the gilded and jewelled crosiers of his own time with the crosier of St. Kentigern, which was 'of simple wood merely bent.'—*Vita Kentigerni*, xiii.

[3] The custom of enshrining bells is unknown in any other branch of the Church.

usages of the Church provided employment to the men who dwelt in bee-hive huts and worshipped in cramped sanctuaries.

With the 'treasures of the church' must be connected the round towers in which the treasures were stored when marauders approached. In Ireland about eighty of these curious structures are known to exist, and all of them are ascribed to the period of the Scandinavian invasions. In Scotland there are only two—at Abernethy and at Brechin.[1] The Abernethy tower is assigned by the best authorities to the middle of the ninth century, while the Brechin tower is probably two centuries younger, and thus barely falls within the Celtic period. Indeed they have only an external and incidental relation to Church history, as showing the perils to which churchmen were exposed. They stood by themselves, detached from the religious buildings. There is no ground for the idea that they were bell-towers, corresponding to Italian campaniles.

The monumental art of the times, while silent as to historic events and personages,[2] has its own tale to tell of the religion of those centuries. Although poor and backward pictorially, it exhibits skill of a high order in designing ornament and in manipulating sculptured figure-work. The Scottish type of stone-engraving is distinctively national, having no parallel in Ireland or in any other part of the Celtic area, and it is specifically Christian, bearing no marks of pagan origin or influence. The figure-subjects delineated are those which appealed to the imagination and embodied the faith of early believers throughout Christendom: Adam and Eve, Abraham and Isaac, Jonah emerging from the whale and resting under his gourd, the drowning of Pharaoh's host, Daniel among the lions, the Virgin with the Holy Child, Lazarus raised from the dead, the symbolic fish, and the stag panting after water-brooks. The Divine Bestiaries,[3] in which western Europe from the sixth century to the twelfth gave a quaint shape to its beliefs, had a marked influence in Scotland,[1] and, although some ungainly monsters baffle interpretation, that furnishes no sufficient ground for supposing them to be pagan or even secular symbols. Still more indisputably of a religious origin are the delicate and forceful carvings in which Celtic art reached its climax. These are close but free workings-out of the same designs which appear in the best Celtic manuscripts of Ireland and Northumbria. In Scotland alone were these designs transferred to stone. 'The intricate ribbon-work on stones at Tarbet, Rosemarkie and Rossie priory rivals the illuminated pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels.'[2] It was among the ferleiginns and scologs of the Culdee settlements that this branch of Celtic art reached its perfection.

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[1] Ruins at Holyrood and elsewhere are surmised to be remnants of round towers. In Orkney there is one at Egilshay.

[2] 'Scotland is almost completely destitute of monuments that are in a precise sense historic.'—*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, ii. 190.

[3] The Divine Bestiary, or Physiologus, was a collection of fifty allegories, in

Almost everywhere the Cross appears as the motif of the craftsman, or at least the framework of his products—the Celtic Cross.[3] It appears in two distinct poses, incised on flat slabs and free-standing, the latter being undoubtedly the later. There is not a single important sculpture in which it is not presented. It is combined even with the Ogham script, probably the oldest native caligraphy of western Europe, and with stray runes which record otherwise unknown raids of the pagan Norsemen. On only one surviving cross (at Colonsay) is there any representation of the Divine Person. Not on a single cross has an attempt been made to represent His crucifixion. The fretwork and all other decorations are palpably arranged so as to bring out the bare outlines of the sacred symbol.

In the position of women some distinctly Christian

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which an attempt was made to utilize natural science for Christian edification. Its tendency was Gnostic or at least mystic. The date of its origin is uncertain. In 496 it was censured by a papal synod, yet Gregory the Great repeatedly alludes to it. After his time it passed out of literature and was popularized in different forms and languages, exercising considerable influence on art.

[1] See Haverfield, *The Romanization of Celtic Art*, pp. 39-47.

[2] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, ii. 116. Keller thinks that the patterns are too lovely to have been shaped in 'a land so colourless and formless' as Scotland.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii.

[3] The mark of the Celtic Cross is its quater-circular hollows or curves at the intersection of the cross-bar with the shaft.

features can be traced. The half-Christianized tribes of Ireland and West Britain gave their women-warriors the high place which Celtic mythology assigned to its war goddesses, and gloried in their deeds of savage daring. The head of a woman or her two breasts were favourite trophies of victory. Such practices did not prevail in Caledonia, where instances of feminine ferocity rarely had a place in legend. This difference, although perhaps based on native temperament, gained principle and power from the chief Christian missionaries, who were indeed distressed by the Irish barbarity. Columba's chivalrous high-mindedness, while it kept him from monastic pruriency and led him to defend the sanctity of wedlock and the honour of women in lowly station, is said to have prompted him to plead with the Irish that they would not compel their women to join in tribal battles.[1] His pleading failed, but success attended a similar attempt made by his biographer. In 697 Adamnan appeared at a synod held at Tara, and persuaded the assembled chiefs and churchmen to exempt all the women of Ireland from the duty of serving in hostings and expeditions. So 'to Adamnan of Iona, whose troop was radiant, noble Jesus granted the liberation of the women of the Gael.' On this expedition Adamnan was accompanied by the king of the Picts—a clear token that in Pictland a Christian view of the sexes already prevailed.[2]

It would be grossly unhistorical, however, to suggest that Scotland in those times was ruled by a pure and gracious faith. They were times when in every part of Christendom Christianity identified itself with heathen superstitions, and Scotland was no exception. Even the pious and learned Adamnan presents Columba primarily as a soothsayer and a worker of miracles. He divides his memoir into records of the saint's Prophetic Revelations, Divine Powers and

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[1] G. T. Stokes says that this was at Drumceatt in 590.—*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 109; Hyde (*A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 234) says that Columba's effort was successful.

[2] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, cviii., cxii.; Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, xlviii., clvi. 245; Fowler, *Adamnani Vita*, lxxxiii.; Skene, ii. 173; M'Culloch, *Religion of Ancient Celts*, p. 72.

Angelic Revelations, and many of the miracles which he describes differ slightly if at all from those of the heathen cult which his hero supplanted. A fair sample of the style in which pagan practices were treated is furnished by the acceptance of belief in the healing virtues of holy wells. Columba, we are told, when journeying through Pictland, heard of a fountain much frequented by the heathen. The 'foolish people' not only bathed in it, but worshipped it as a god, although they thereby acquired loathsome and virulent diseases. The saint approached the fountain and, after bathing his own hands and feet, called upon his followers to drink. Ever afterwards it was a fount of healing for which the whole land gave thanks. Beneficent miracles of the same kind were ascribed to almost every saint.[1] At Glasgow, maniacs and epileptics were tied on Sunday nights to a stone of wondrous size which St. Mungo had erected and marked with the cross, in the belief that those of them who survived till day-dawn would be healed.[2] This practice, which was maintained as late as the twelfth century, was no doubt a substitute for the stone-worship which had considerable vogue in the Celtic area.

The same process was at work with regard to particular deities of the pre-Christian régime. No goddess, for instance, held a higher place in Celtic mythology than Brigit, teacher of industry and the arts, donor of fire and fertility, mother of civilization.[3] Into one after another of her innumerable shrines Christian worship gained entrance, and her supernatural powers were ascribed to a Christian foundress. Brigit became St. Bridget or St. Bride,[4] a missionary who in St. Patrick's day had brought gospel blessings from Ireland. The Christian Bridget was probably an historical person; but no one familiar with Celtic legend will credit her or her cult with all the shrines in Scotland which bear her name. Nor can it be affirmed that the veneration for

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[1] Dr. Joseph Anderson gives a list of thirty-eight wells to which in some such fashion the names of early Celtic saints were attached.

[2] *Vita Kentigerni*, c. xli.

[3] *Religion of Ancient Celts*, pp. 41, 68, 90, etc.

[4] See pages 22 and 27.

St. Bride on Candlemas Eve was different in essentials from the worship of Brigit.

This transference of pagan beliefs and usages to the Christian cult may have been the outcome of a deliberate policy. It was certainly recommended to the English missionary Augustine by his master Gregory the Great.[1] Yet it must not be regarded as a contrivance of priestcraft. The missionaries sincerely believed that their saints worked miracles and naturally ascribed to them miracles of the kind which would commend them in each locality. In doing so they were supported by the disposition of the native mind, which clung to tradition and was slow to apprehend spiritual truth. The power of local credulities and religious customs to survive changes of professed belief is familiar to students of the history of religions. In ancient Italy, the spirits worshipped under the kings gained so stable a domicile in many localities that when the deities of Greece were adopted there was no vital religious change.[2] In Anatolia, the rites and cult of paganism were permitted and even sanctioned by Christian priests, the worship of the Virgin Mother of the New Testament supplanting that of Artemis. Near Pisidian Antioch, Sir William Ramsay has found an altar of Hermes which has not been deprived of its local reputation by the so-called conversion of the peasantry from paganism to Christianity and from Christianity to Islam, and is still frequented for its healing virtues. Tribes may be persuaded to adopt a new and higher faith; but 'if they are not raised to the moral and intellectual level which that faith requires, the old ideas not only persist but are reinvigorated by the partial removal of their barbarism.'[3] The Celt continued to be a heathen in many respects, even after he had become nominally a Christian. He thought that his former gods, although defeated and banished from their shrines, still lived among the hills and in the valleys and retained some power over mortals. Some of them were to be resisted by Christian magic, some to be propitiated by spells and sacrifices which were in no sense Christian; others were absorbed in the cult of Christian saints and served to popularize the new religion. So there arose a blend of Christian ideas and forms with belief in demons and witches, brownies and fairies, which proved congenial to conflicting elements of the Celtic temperament. The most impressive of the ritualistic items in this process was the transference to the Holy Cup of the Celtic reverence for the Holy Caldron of Truth, which had affinities to the Grail of Arthurian romance.[1]

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, i. 30.

[2] W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 6 ff.

[3] Ramsay, *Roman and other Studies*, pp. 125-88.

There were also general results of a still more important kind. In social and domestic life room was kept for thoroughly pagan superstitions, some of them degrading and coarsening;[2] while the bards, whose cause and calling found favour with the early missionaries, gave Celtic mythology an indistinct but influential place in popular sentiment by ascribing the ventures of the defeated gods to fabled kings and chiefs. The Cuchulainn Cycle, perhaps the most widely diffused body of legends, took shape in the seventh and eighth centuries. It is impossible, however, to assign dates with any certainty to such a transition, and it must be enough to recognize that the Christianizing of Scotland was partial. The planting of a Culdee settlement in a sheltered valley did not imply that the natives passed through a moral and spiritual change, even though a few of them became the 'scologs' of the Culdees. Still less do the ruins of a tiny chapel on a rocky islet give proof that in any important sense the gospel had been 'accepted' in the neighbourhood. We cannot ascribe it wholly to national hostility that the English almost uniformly represent the Picts and Scots as ruthless barbarians, unchecked by religious influences and even by the ordinary humanities.[3] The most generous estimate of the Church of the tenth century leaves little ground for a romantic or even an admiring view. The Keledei at their best left large districts untouched by their ministrations, and, even where they had their homes, their services were uncontrolled if not irregular. An eleventh-century historian, in his chronicle of the year which our narrative has reached, asserts that 'the Scottish nation, although harsh in battle, is intent upon the study of the Christian religion rather than of arms.'[1] Yet the impartial student finds few features of Ecclesia Scoticana which justify such words of praise. Scotland was no doubt more Christian when the dark ages ended than when they began; but the advance had been fitful, and the agencies by which it had been promoted were of a kind which had slight vitality and few claims to permanence.[2] A change was manifestly needed, and the necessity awakens no such wistful sentiments as are roused by the discomfiture and disappearance of the eager evangelists of Iona and Lindisfarne.

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[1] *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 383.

[2] It was the same in neighbouring regions where the Culdees were unknown. Farne Island was demon-haunted before Cuthbert made it his home; he set forth a new and drastic method of fighting the demons.—Lang, *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 70. For Orkney see *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. 104 ff.

[3] The chronicler of 1000, *e.g.*, says that the English 'held the Scots most vile.'

NOTE H. PAGE 142.

'*The Culdee Library.*'

It is only right to indicate the reasons which seem to justify divergence from the view of Haddan and Stubbs, Dr. John Stuart and Bishop Reeves, that this little library belonged to the Culdees, since those learned writers have drawn conclusions of some importance from its contents.

The library was assigned in 1152 or 1153 by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, along with the abbey of St. Serf's and its pertinents and the Culdee vestments, to the Augustinian prior and canons of St. Andrews. The assignation was no doubt in a charter conveying to them certain Culdee properties. Yet the charter does not state or even imply that the books had belonged to the Culdees, and in another charter, dated 1144, Bishop Robert conveyed books of his own (*omnes nostros libros*) to the St. Andrews canons. It seems likely that the books specifically named in the second charter were either those referred to in the first, or others which Bishop Robert had acquired for his protégés since the settlement of the Augustinian house at St. Andrews. This view, set forth by Dr. David Patrick in the preface to his *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, has been developed by him in a pamphlet on *A Fifeshire Library Catalogue* (1908). His arguments are both negative and positive. (1) The books in the list include nothing Celtic and, in particular, none of the local colouring and hagiology distinctive of the Celtic cult. They omit one volume which is known to have been in the library of the St. Serf Culdees at that time. (2) They include books which, although incongruous with Celtic ideas, would naturally be in the possession of Bishop Robert, such as the Excerpts from Egbert of York and the Sentences of St. Bernard. The works of Prosper, champion of the Augustinian dogma, would be an appropriate gift to Augustinians. That 'origine' means the works of Origen, as Dr. Stuart renders it, seems very unlikely; more probably it denotes some Book of Origins such as that of Isidore of Seville. A 'pastoral,' which heads the catalogue, must surely be the *Liber Pastoralis* or *De Cura Pastorali* of Gregory the Great—a standard manual for Latin churchmen. The collection as a whole is such as might suitably be given by a catholic bishop to guide monks in orthodox faith and worship.

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[1] Orderic Vital, iv. 5.

[2] There are vague traces of desultory evangelism by St. Duthac of Tain at the beginning of the eleventh century.

In any case the catalogue, which cannot have been drawn up before 1144, discloses nothing important about Culdee life. If at that date the books catalogued belonged to the St. Serf Culdees, that proves only that the survivors of the Celtic Church had accepted catholic usages.

See Reeves, *The Culdees*, p. 131; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 227-8; Stuart, Introduction to the *Book of Deer*, cxxii.; Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 125, 210, 446; Patrick, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER X

QUEEN MARGARET AND HER SONS: SCOTLAND BECOMES ROMAN CATHOLIC

1068-1153

The national transition—Conflicting ideas—Tide of immigrants—Queen Margaret—Her personality—Her influence on religion—Policy of her sons—Church developments—Diocesan episcopacy—Origin of parishes—Foundation of monasteries.

In the century that followed the accession of Malcolm Canmore, Scottish religion still lay apart from the great movements of Christendom. The widening of the breach between eastern and western Christianity, the contest between emperors and popes which reached its climax at Canossa, the teaching of Anselm and Abelard and the passion of the first two Crusades were outside the national horizon. Yet the isolation was not complete. Scotland had its own contest between kings and priests. In the very year of the Concordat of Worms the problem of Investiture was reproduced in miniature at St. Andrews. The greatest religious influence of the times, the revival of monasticism under St. Bernard, was felt even in Iona and the Perthshire highlands. Before the century ended, the Scottish Church had become completely Roman Catholic.

The transition was a national one, and derived thoroughness and permanence from its national character. Religious changes which operate only in Church life and in spiritual affairs are as a rule transient. It is through relation to political and social developments that they become vital and effective. Many Church historians have blundered by ascribing the Romanizing of Scotland entirely to the failure of the Celtic Church, the revival of religion under royal patronage, and the attractive power of the Roman institutions. These no doubt were real causes. The Celtic Church had lost its life; Queen Margaret was intensely religious and her sons were zealous in their churchmanship; the Roman system had many attractions and great power. But the religious change to which such influences contributed was only one aspect of a national transition, which was none the less secular because its religious bearings and results were of the greatest consequence. The Church altered with the nation. At the beginning of the period Scotland was predominantly Celtic; at the end of it the supremacy of the southern (Teutonic) race was established. With the establishment of that supremacy the Church of Scotland was assimilated to the other Churches of Christendom.

Not only so. The character of the religious change was shaped by political and social developments, which indeed constitute its principal surviving interest. Not a single Scot of the times has left a record of his religious sentiments or of anything that can be called 'conversion' to Rome; but the forces which were working upon the rising nation are unmistakable. They were twofold. (1) Scotland was permeated by southern influences. These gained entrance and prevailed through causes which in the first instance were wholly secular but afterwards assumed a definitely religious character. Of the Angles and Normans who brought southern ideas into Scotland, some came as fugitives, some as attendants on the Scottish court, some as adventurers. None came in avowed hostility to the Celtic Church. In the main it was a friendly occupation, bringing palpable benefits. (2) On the other hand, Scotland contended, with varying fortunes, for national independence. There were intervals in the contention, but in the main it was resolute and it was attended with success. Individual kings bound themselves by treaties and pledges, which political historians have estimated variously, to recognize the suzerainty of England, but none of the agreements was operative for more than a few years. The only real uncertainty was as to where the border-line between England and Scotland should be drawn. At one stage it seemed as if England would rule as far north as the Forth and Clyde; later, the southern part of Scotland and the northern part of England were regarded as a separate domain governed by a Scottish earl or count, who did fealty to England; in the reign of the English Stephen, Scotland was supreme as far south as the Tyne and the Tees; finally, the line was drawn with some distinctness at the Tweed. Throughout the contention the scenes of warfare were almost always on the eastern side of the debated land, in Lothian and Northumbria. The region north of the Forth was indisputably Scottish, the frequent rebellions of highlanders being no more than the ordinary resistance of semi-barbarism to national development. These aspects of national history—the diffusion of southern influences throughout Scotland and definite resistance to English encroachments and claims—exercised so definite an influence upon Church history that it is necessary to indicate with some detail how they operated.

Under Malcolm Canmore (1058-93) Scottish armies five times crossed the Tweed and Scotland was thrice invaded by the English. Although twice, in 1072 and 1091, Malcolm did homage to England, his homage was cautiously guarded. To the close of his life he resented every assertion of English authority, and indeed died in seeking to avenge an insult offered him by William Rufus. Until his death the bishopric of St. Andrews, then the only Scottish bishopric, was held by a Celt, Fothadh. Once and again he granted lands to the Celtic monks. When in 1074 two English monks settled at Melrose, he insisted that they should swear fealty to him and, on their refusal, drove them south with threats of death.[1] Some fifteen years later, discovering that his daughter had taken the veil—hateful badge of Anglicism—he dragged the veil from her head, 'cursing the person who had put it upon her.'[2]

Yet throughout his reign the Anglicizing of his kingdom was rapid. After the battle of Hastings, English thralls and Danish refugees poured into Scotland and received a friendly welcome as enemies of the Conqueror. Some of them attached themselves to the king's primitive court; others received grants of land on which they settled as peaceable and industrious colonists. Accepting the Christianity of Scotland as they found it, they inevitably and at first unconsciously altered its character.

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[1] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, i. 111-12.

[2] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, 121-6.

The most notable of these strangers was Edgar Atheling, son of Edmund Ironside, the dispossessed heir of the Saxon line, who was accompanied by his mother and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. Malcolm, who had recently lost his wife (Ingibiorg), a Norsewoman,[1] married the elder of the two sisters at Dunfermline, which was then his capital, in 1068 or 1070.[2] The bride was only twenty-three years of age; but her character and convictions were mature, and the marriage was an eventful one for Scotland.

Queen Margaret was a thorough Teuton. Her mother was a Bavarian princess, and she herself had been educated in England under the guidance of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the tutorship of Turgot, a Benedictine monk, who accompanied her to Scotland as her chaplain or father-confessor.[3] The story that she entered wedlock reluctantly may be discarded, as a monkish attempt to justify the idea that saints prefer unmarried life, and there is equally little foundation for the notion that on Malcolm's part the marriage was 'an alliance of policy,' and that she was 'an ambitious woman.'[4] Although her religion bore the marks of her time, her piety was genuine and beautiful, showing a rare combination of womanly gentleness and independent strength. In her personal religion as described by her father-confessor,[5] earnest study of the Bible, close attention to Church rules, constant prayerfulness and an abstinence which threatened her health were balanced by a tender care for the poor, diligence in the education of her own children and a genial concern for her household servants. Few medieval lives have been recorded so vividly and picturesquely without appeals to superstition or bigotry. No miracles are ascribed to her except the recovery of her favourite copy of the gospels which had been dropped into a river, and Turgot records even that incident with an apology. 'Whatever others may think, I for my part believe that the wonder was worked by our Lord. . . . Let us rather admire in Margaret the actions which made her a saint.' For the guidance of her court, before Christmas and during Lent, she publicly washed the feet of six poor men as a daily exercise. Thereafter she gathered nine orphan children round her, taking the infants in her lap and feeding them with motherly attentions. Three hundred of the poor were brought into the State apartments to receive food and alms from royal hands, while twenty-four special pensioners were always at her side. Her ladies were occupied in sewing garments for the poor and tapestries for the church. Beggars thronged round her in her daily walks, and to relieve them she abstracted from the altars the offerings of the wealthy. While sedulous in observing the stated rites of the Roman Church, she was frequent in her visits to the pious Celtic hermits[1] and urgent in tendering gifts to them. When they refused her presents, she asked them to guide her in her holy exercises and took alms to the needy under their direction. For other devotees she made provision, specially for those who frequented St. Andrews and Dunfermline, arranging that they should be lodged suitably and ferried across the Forth without charge.[2] Her influence over her husband, who had a passionate temperament, illustrates her strength and independence. 'I confess,' writes Turgot, 'that I was astonished at the miracle of God's mercy, when I perceived in the king such a steady earnestness of devotion, and I wondered how it was that there could exist in the heart of a man living in the world such an entire sorrow for sin.' Malcolm seems almost to have revelled in his wife's goodness. He would take away her favourite books of devotion and, after having adorned them with jewels and gold, restore them to her as proof of his love. When she appropriated the gold pieces which he had set aside for offering at mass, in order to give them to the needy, he would seize her hand with the money in it and playfully accuse her of theft. Most typical perhaps from their extreme simplicity are the admonitions to her children as reported by Turgot, such as: 'Oh, my children, fear the Lord, for they who fear Him shall lack no good thing. If you love Him, He will give you, my dears, prosperity in this life and eternal happiness with all the saints.' When Turgot left for England she bade him good-bye, saying: 'I have two requests to make. The one is that as long as you live you will remember me in your prayers; the other, that you will take loving care of my sons and daughters, teaching them above all else to love and fear God and never ceasing to instruct them. When you see any one of them exalted to a height of earthly dignity, be in very special manner his father and teacher. . . . Warn him and, if need be, reprove him, lest his earthly honours lead him to pride or covetousness and induce him to sin against God or lest this world's good things make him forget the happiness of the world to come. Promise me this in the presence of Him who is our only witness.' Her last words—she died[1] in great pain at the age of forty-six or forty-seven—were: 'Praise be to God, who has been pleased that by this suffering I should be cleansed from some of the stains of my sins. Lord Jesus Christ, who by Thy death hast given life unto the world, deliver me!' Margaret's career and influence are unintelligible, if her sincere piety is challenged.[2]

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[1] Ingibiorg left one son, Duncan.

[2] Freeman says 1070; Hume Brown follows Skene in preferring 1068.

[3] There are two conflicting narratives of Turgot's early life. He was Prior of Durham—certainly in 1087, perhaps earlier. See *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 264; Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, p. 97.

[4] Hume Brown, i. 56, 62.

[5] Turgot's memoir is ascribed by the Bollandists to a Durham monk, Theodoric, but without sufficient reason.

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[1] There is no ground for thinking that 'some of these hermits were Saxons.' Saxon hermits had as yet no place in Scotland.—Forbes Leith, *St. Margaret*, p. 58.

[2] Until 1150 at least, the ferry was at Inverkeithing, not 'Queensferry.'—*Regist. de Dunf.*, c. 2. There is a note of time in Turgot's description of the Forth as 'the sea which divides Lothian from Scotland.'

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[1] On November 16, 1093. By a papal 'grace' St. Margaret's Day was changed to June 10.—Forbes Leith, *St. Margaret*, p. 82; Lang, i. 126.

[2] No doubt allowance must be made for the fact that Turgot was a courtly panegyrist, yet the depreciation of her character by recent political historians is at variance with every trustworthy record.

Her piety was of the type now usually designated 'catholic.' She was distressed by the divergence of Scottish Christianity from the religion of the civilized south, and set herself with assiduity and skilfulness to remedy its most glaring irregularities. Lanfranc,[1] to whom she appealed, despatched three monks to her assistance, with his respectful benediction on her endeavour; but her plan of action was her own. Repeatedly she convened the leaders of the Celtic Church, and debated with them the points of difference.[2] Turgot has sketched one of the debates which lasted for three days, and at which Malcolm acted as assessor and translator.[3] The queen opened the discussion by premising that those who hold the true faith ought not to vary from the Catholic Church by new and far-fetched usages, and proceeded to criticize certain customs which the Scots practised in violation of this rule. (1) They began their lenten fast, not on Ash-Wednesday, but on the Monday of the first week in Lent, thus fasting thirty-six instead of forty days.[4] (2) They neglected to receive the Holy Sacrament on Easter-day.[5] (3) In some districts they celebrated mass with a barbarous ritual in opposition to the custom of the whole Church.[6] (4) They failed to reverence the Lord's Day, employing it for worldly business.[7] (5) They allowed marriage within prohibited degrees of affinity, as between a man and his stepmother or his deceased brother's wife.[8] Margaret's argument on the second of these points will suffice to indicate her religious attitude. When the Scots told her that they were afraid to communicate, lest they should 'eat and drink judgment to themselves,'[1] she replied :—

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[1] *Scala Chronica*, p. 222. Lanfranc was archbishop from 1070 till 1089. If Scotland was placed under care of York in 1072 (see below), these emissaries must have been sent at the very beginning of Margaret's career.—*Early Scottish Annals*, p. 236.

[2] Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, xxii.

[3] Malcolm could not write.

[4] In this matter St. Margaret was mistaken. The Scottish usage was the primitive one. It was not till the sixth or seventh century that Ash-Wednesday and the three following days were added to the fast.

[5] Robertson (*Statuta*, xxiii.) thinks that the neglect of Holy Communion was only on Easter-day; but the argument points to a general non-observance of the Sacrament.—Hailes, *Annals*, i. 42.

[6] On the Celtic mass see page 138.

[7] Patriotic writers have tried to blunt this charge by saying that the Scots, like Columba, took their Sabbath rest on Saturday.

[8] The same irregularities prevailed in England in the seventh century, and in Ireland in the twelfth.—*Statuta*, xxiv.

> 'What then? Shall all who are sinners refuse to partake of that holy mystery? No one in that case ought to partake, for none are free from the stain of sin. The Apostle's words must manifestly, according to the judgment of the Fathers, have another meaning. . . He means that a man eats and drinks judgment to himself who fails to distinguish by faith the body of our Lord from ordinary food, and who . . . without confession and penitence, approaches these sacred mysteries. . . . We who, having made confession of our sins many days before, are chastened with penitence, worn with fastings and cleansed from our sins by alms and tears, approach the Table on the day of our Lord's resurrection in the catholic faith and partake of the flesh and blood of the Immaculate Lamb, not to our condemnation but for remembrance of our sins and salutary preparation for eternal blessedness.'

It is not surprising that the Celts yielded to such arguments and adopted willingly the changes she proposed. There is no trace here of the patronizing tone in which Wilfrid crushed the Iona missionaries, nor of his domineering insistence upon living Church authorities. Turgot reports that before the meeting ended all 'obstinacy was laid aside,' and both the above-named usages and 'many others at variance with the catholic rule' were condemned with one voice. Although he speaks of the 'zeal' with which she desired to abolish the 'barbarian' celebration of mass, neither he nor any other writer earlier than the twentieth century[2] suggests that she was engaged in a prolonged contention or that she tyranically enforced submission to the authorities of the Roman Church. The omissions of this almost contemporary narrative are significant. While Penance, Fasting, the Confessional, the Sacred Hours, Crucifixes, the Virgin and the Miracle of the Sacrament are named with the utmost reverence, the words Rome, Pope, Archbishop, Bishop do not once occur.

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[1] In the north of Scotland this religious awe has survived the changes of eight centuries.

[2] Rait (*Making of Scotland*, p. 15) writes that Margaret waged 'a merciless and gradually successful warfare' against the Gaelic language and the Celtic Church.

These omissions are in keeping with the policy which Margaret and her husband steadily pursued. Ecclesiastical arrangements and Church offices in which Latin and Celtic Christianity differed widely lay outside their orbit. To the establishment of dioceses they did not in any way contribute,[1] and they left the one 'bishopric of the Scots' in the hands of a Celt. The abnormal development of monastic life, with its tolerance of marriage, they left untouched. Both king and queen favoured the devout Culdees, and increased the endowments of the settlements at St. Serf's and at Monymusk.[2] Their son Ethelred became Culdee abbot of Dunkeld, and made a further addition to the resources of St. Serf's.[3] The only new foundations for which they were responsible were the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, a chapel in the castle of Edinburgh and a monastery erected on the ruins of Columba's island home. They had no hostile struggle with the Celtic Church, and laid not a finger upon its frail and fading fabric.

Yet Margaret accomplished far more than if she had dealt with offices and institutions. She was a reformer of religion rather than a reformer of the Church, and influenced the tone of Christianity rather than its ordinances. While introducing discipline and decorum into public life,[4] she prepared a home in Scotland for those orderly and docile conceptions of piety and worship in which the Latin Church eclipses every other phase of Christianity.

In the four years that followed Margaret's death there was a reaction against the inroads of the English. Donald Ban drove out of Scotland 'all the English who had been at Malcolm's court,' and his successor Duncan was accepted as king on condition that he would 'never again bring English or French (Normans) into the land.'[1] But the reaction was political and social rather than religious, and it collapsed with the accession of Edgar in 1097. He and his brothers, Alexander and David, who held the sceptre in succession for fifty-six years, worked out in detail the religious revolution which Margaret had adumbrated. Their personal character did not approach their mother's either in elevation or in charity. Edgar cruelly put out the eyes of his uncle, Donald Ban. Alexander was styled the Fierce on account of his savagery towards his northern subjects. David was canonized by the grateful Church, and is said by the chroniclers to have had a generous and charitable heart;[2] but his saintliness was impaired and blurred in war and, on its devotional side, had a punctilious formality from which Margaret's piety was free. All the three brothers, however, were deeply concerned in religion and much occupied in Church affairs, and each made his own contribution to an ecclesiastical revolution which determined the history of the Church till the Reformation.

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[1] According to Grub (i. 193), Malcolm erected a see at Morthlach before his marriage; but Dowden (*Medieval Church in Scotland*, p. 57) thinks that an eleventh-century monastic bishop was undisturbed at Morthlach till the twelfth century. So Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 154.

[2] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 7; Reeves, *The Culdees*, p. 55.

[3] As Lawrie shows (p. 244), there is no proof of Skene's assertion that Dunkeld was a lay abbacy. Equally unproved is Lang's idea (i. 95) that Margaret and her husband differed in this matter.

[4] Margaret 'put down all the evil customs which the nation had followed.'—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Edgar (1097-1107) was installed upon the throne by English influence. It is doubtful if he can fairly be called an English vassal, but he certainly relied largely upon England and welcomed the stream of settlers who poured into Scotland from the south in increasing volume. Ruling from Edinburgh, he attempted to adjust the relations between his northern and his southern subjects by entrusting the lands south of the Forth to his brother Alexander. In that territory, southern Church influences prevailed without restraint. When, for example, he revived the ancient monastery of Coldingham, he placed it not under the Scottish bishop but under the Benedictine monks of Durham. And this was not the limit of his churchmanship. Shortly before his death he requested the Archbishop of Canterbury (Lanfranc) to send monks to assist him in his own dominions.[3]

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ad an. 1093; Florence of Worcester, ii. 32.

[2] Fordun records his kindly willingness to help the poor (*Chron.*, v. 39). 'From first to last,' says Hume Brown (i. 87), 'his conduct was purely selfish.' For his religious spirit see Grub, i. 284. Ailred's 'Lament over David, holy king of the Scots,' is more informing than most panegyrics. Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, 347-50.

[3] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 21.

For the religion of Scotland his most important act was the making of a treaty in 1102 with Magnus Barefoot, to whom he surrendered all the western islands. This severance of the early home of Scottish Christianity from the kingdom of Scotland lasted for more than a hundred and fifty years, with religious results which were manifest for many generations. The west highlands were placed outside the course of Scottish Church life.

His brother Alexander I (1107-24) was engaged in war with the Celts of Moray and the Mearns. Politically he was a firm upholder of northern customs and of national independence, keen and stubborn, as we shall see, in resisting interference in his administration.[1] But this in no way hindered him from furthering the interests of the southern Church. While his brother David, who ruled Cumbria and part of Lothian as Earl, bestowed lands and titles upon churchmen there with his approval, he himself pursued the same policy in the north. His victory over the Celts was celebrated by the erection of the abbey of Scone, which was placed under the charge of Austin canons from St. Oswald's, Yorks. Priories were planted on an island in Loch Tay and on St. Colme's Island (Inchcolm) on the Firth of Forth. For the bishopric of St. Andrews he nominated his mother's confessor, Turgot. He is credited, although the fact is doubtful, with having founded the bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld, and he took part with his brother in instituting the bishopric of Glasgow. His desire to assimilate the Scottish Church to Roman models was as strong as his determination to be master of Scotland in every department of its life. Although insisting that churchmen should conform to Scottish customs and usages (*nostros usus . . consuetudines*), and forbidding appeals to Rome from his decisions, he was first to prescribe by charter that in the highlands Augustinian monks should serve God in the costume of their Order, and to express nervous fear of offending 'the Chief Pastor of the flock of God.'[2]

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[1] Alexander resided at Invergowrie. The courtiers who attested his charters were principally Celts.—Lang, i. 101; Hume Brown, i. 70.

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, v. 130-1.

Under David (1124-53) the contrast between these two phases of national development was maintained and in some ways sharpened. For the first eleven years of his reign David was at peace with England, and indeed received assistance from the northern English barons in his contentions with the Celts of Moray. But on the death of Henry I hostility arose. In 1136 David invaded England as the champion of Maud; and although an agreement was reached it lasted only for a year and a second invasion culminated in the Battle of the Standard (1138). David emerged from this campaign with little credit and with more profit than he deserved, but the details of his negotiations do not fall within our province except in one respect. His son Henry was secured by treaty first in the Honour of Huntingdon and afterwards (in 1139) in the Earldom of Northumbria; so that through him David exercised control of affairs and lands in England and was subject to feudal obligations, while contending till the close of his life for the integrity of Scotland.

At the same time David was at heart and in purpose an English churchman. Educated in England under Norman teachers, he had, in the language of the English chroniclers, 'rubbed off the tarnish of Scottish barbarity.'[1] At his court he was surrounded by men of English and Norman breeding. He assigned lands to southerners not only in Lothian and Strathclyde but as far north as Moray.[2] English institutions, customs and ideals gained root in every department of social, civic and economic life. 'Sheriff's law' took the place of precarious methods of dispensing justice; mormaers and toisechs gave way to counts and barons; written charters were gradually substituted for custom, as guarantees of ownership; burghs and towns were born; trade and agriculture were pursued under new conditions. With a rapidity to which history supplies few parallels, the irregularities of tribal life gave way to the feudal civilization of the Normans. No sane writer would ascribe all these changes to a single monarch, however skilful and large-minded. Yet they all were in process during David's reign, and they were reflected in his dealings with the Church. It was not by a detached or isolated enterprise that he latinized Scottish Christianity but in pursuance of a general policy.

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[1] William of Malmesbury, ii. 476. David had enriched the dioceses of the very bishops against whom he fought.

[2] The Englishmen settled in Moray promoted civilization in that province.

The completeness of the change effected in the Church during this period can be understood only by scrutiny of its three principal features—the erection of bishoprics, the formation of parishes, and the foundation of monasteries.

1. Diocesan episcopacy was established. Ecclesia Scoticana, as has been shown,[1] had a national bishop, whose charge included the whole kingdom. This situation continued till the beginning of the twelfth century and it was altered then without an express enactment. Bishoprics were added one by one in accordance with local needs and claims. The alteration, however, was so rapid that before David's death there were nine Scottish bishops, each with separate local responsibilities, although the boundaries of their dioceses were indistinct. The following list is in the order of foundation, so far as that can be ascertained.[2]

St. Andrews.—This bishopric, on the death of the last bishop of the Celtic Church, was vacant for fourteen years. In 1107 Turgot was appointed to the office by Henry I of England at the request of King Alexander, but owing to contentions which will presently be described his consecration was delayed until 1109. Even after other bishoprics were erected, St. Andrews was regarded as the leading see, although there was nothing of the nature of a primacy. A bishop who was settled there in 1120 speaks of himself as being called to 'care for all the souls in the whole realm,'[3] and two years later the Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Alexander, describes it as 'the see which in your land is regarded as the chief.'[4] That jealousy of St. Andrews which showed itself in the thirteenth century had not yet taken shape.[5]

Glasgow.—Strathclyde had since Kentigern's time been a neglected and almost pagan land, and David, before he reached the throne, set himself to bring it within the Christian pale by the erection and endowment of a bishopric. About 1110 a certain Michael was consecrated for the see by the Archbishop of York, but he apparently died before he reached Glasgow.[1] The first bishop who entered upon office, John, was consecrated by Pope Paschal II at the request of David, probably in 1117. After the 'Inquisitio' instituted by David about 1120,[2] certain lands were assigned to the bishopric as having been 'held by the church of Glasgow in ancient times.'[3] The power of the bishops of Glasgow was much lessened in 1133 by the institution of the bishopric of Carlisle, which was regarded as an entirely English bishopric. In 1136 a cathedral which John had erected was destroyed by fire.

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[1] See pages 114, 121, 134 f.

[2] Fuller details will be found in Keith's *Catalogue* and Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland.*

[3] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, pp. 282-3.

[4] *Ibid.*, vi. 140.

[5] When Councils were instituted in 1225, a change of view appeared.

DUNKELD.—Although Dunkeld had been the seat of the 'Bishop of Fortrenn' for a few years in the ninth century, it thereafter lost all episcopal prestige. The erection of the see has been assigned to 1107 on the ground of a doubtful charter, but the first valid evidence of its existence is in 1127,[4] at which date it included Argyll.

MORAY.—This diocese, like that of Dunkeld, has been erroneously dated from 1107. It first appears in a charter of 1124. The bishop's seat was for some time unfixed, shifting from Birsay to Spynie and from Spynie to Kenedor. In 1224 it was settled at Elgin.

ABERDEEN.—According to the traditions of the north, there was an ancient Aberdeenshire episcopate at Morthlach (in Banff), one of St. Moluag's settlements. Aberdeen, with St. Machar, a disciple of St. Columba, as its saint, was erected into a bishopric before 1132,[5] and liberally endowed by King David in or shortly before 1137.

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[1] Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 14. Dowden thinks that he may have been a titular bishop. Cf. Raine, *York*, ii. 127, 371.

[2] See page 21.

[3] Several of the properties were in Lothian.

[4] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 283; Dowden says 'probably between 1127 and 1129.'—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 48.

[5] This date is doubtful. A charter in the Aberdeen Register, which Haddan and Stubbs call 'scarcely trustworthy' and Dowden calls 'forged,' gives 1125 as the date. These authorities favour the above date, although Dowden varies. Cf. *Medieval Church*, p. 8 with *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 97. See page 160 n. 1.

ROSS.—A charter of 1128-31 is attested by 'Macbeth Rosmarkensis Episcopus,' showing that the bishopric, which had its seat at Rosemarkie, had been erected before that date.

CAITHNESS.—In this then rude and lawless land, which was subject to Norse earls, the existence of a Scottish bishopric in David's time would be incredible if it were not guaranteed by charters of 1147. As the first known bishop appears as a holder of properties at Perth and the owner of a church at Dunkeld, it may be assumed that his office was purely titular.[1] His nominal seat was at Dornoch, which had been a centre of Celtic Church life.

DUNBLANE.—In the times of Columba or earlier a Celtic bishop had his residence at Dunblane, but, as in the case of Glasgow, no traces of the fact remained. A bishop of Dunblane is first mentioned in 1150. Owing to the patronage of the see being in the hands of the Earls of Strathearn, it is designated, even in papal documents, as the 'bishopric of Strathearn.'

BRECHIN.—Before 1153 this ancient stronghold of the Celtic Church had become a bishopric, its bishop appearing among the signatories to a charter granted to the Keledei of Deer.

Besides those nine sees, to which the Roman Church adhered as long as she ruled in Scotland, there were two situated within the bounds of modern Scotland which were not ecclesiastically Scottish. *Galloway*, the Candida Casa of St. Ninian, was revived as a bishopric by Fergus, lord of Galloway, and in 1125 its bishop assented to an instruction from the Pope that he should be consecrated at York. At the very time when the wild Picts of Galloway, with their naked thighs, were rousing the alarm and disgust of the English soldiery, their bishop willingly tendered to English primates an obedience which, as we shall see, the Scottish bishops were forbidden by their kings to yield. Equally abnormal was the bishopric of *Orkney*. Before Queen

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[1] So Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 409. Cf. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 232.

Margaret's time, about 1055, the Norse had founded a bishopric, placing it under the primacy first of Bremen, then of Hamburg. In 1073, however, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York agreed to consecrate 'a certain priest who had brought a letter from the Earl of Orkney.'[1] This new bishop was not recognized by the king of Norway nor by the Orcadians, and he remained at York acting as a sort of deputy for the archbishop in various functions. Presently papal influence was enlisted. In 1120 and 1125 Popes Calixtus II and Honorius II urged the kings of Norway to acknowledge that the bishop of Orkney was a suffragan of York. But the Norwegians refused, and in 1152 the Curia showed its distinctive skill in yielding to local and patriotic feeling by placing the bishopric, which now had its seat at Kirkwall, under a new metropolitan at Trondhjem. The Orkneys had as yet no ecclesiastical relation to Scotland.

The above list shows that there was a good deal of indistinctness in the division into dioceses, apart from these two exceptional cases. That a bishop of Caithness should not only own a church at the seat of the bishop of Dunkeld but should assign it to monks resident in a third diocese, may be thought to be a wholly exceptional irregularity. Yet in 1150 we find a bishop of St. Andrews handing over the church of Borthwick in Edinburghshire to the bishop of Glasgow, while reserving his episcopal authority over the church. Three years earlier the same bishop of Glasgow sanctioned the grant of a church in the Cheviots[2] in virtue of his 'episcopal authority' in that district. Other data show that the diocesan system was still in embryo. A papal letter of 1119 is addressed to 'the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Orkney, the bishop of Glasgow and all the bishops throughout Scotland.'[3] In a charter of 1115 there is the signature of a bishop 'Cormac,' without specification of his diocese, which so unbiased a scholar as the late Bishop Dowden interprets as meaning that Cormac was 'a bishop without a see in one of the Celtic monasteries.'[1] It was by a gradual process that the holders of office in the churches of the Culdees gave way to diocesan bishops, as these one by one were instituted. Yet this in no way modifies the reality or the importance of the transition, which must indeed be regarded as a revolution. Although only one of the new bishoprics had a cathedral at the time of David's death, and the Chapters were as yet crudely organized, archdeacons and deans setting their names as signatories beside the names of officials of the Celtic Church, the framework of a Latin Church had been reared throughout the land.[2]

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* quoted in *Scottish Annals*, p. 99. Cf. Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, pp. 198-9; John of Worcester, ii. 89. Details of this curious matter are given in Grub, i. 251 ff.; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 9; *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 252 ff. See page 117.

[2] *Liber de Calchou*, No. 416.

[3] Raine, *York*, ii. 167-8.

2. Even less systematic was the emergence of the idea of a parish and of parochial responsibilities. The word parish, which in the records of the Northumbrian (Celtic) Church designates the district in which a bishop ministered, cannot in Scotland be traced back to the eleventh century, and even in twelfth-century documents it is frequently equivalent to diocese.[3] The conception of a 'parish church' and a 'parish priest' arrived in Scotland with the Norman and Saxon gentry after the Conquest. It is probable that the clerics of each Celtic settlement had recognized certain local limits to their ministrations, but these limits had not been defined and were probably tribal rather than geographical. The new settlers brought with them from the south the custom of dedicating a portion of their lands for the maintenance of religious rites. The first recorded instance may be quoted as typical. In or about 1105 a wealthy man, who had received an allotment of land in Roxburghshire, granted the following charter:—

'Thor Longus salutes in the Lord all the sons of Holy Mother

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[1] *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 48.

[2] The only two Church meetings recorded in this period were 'synods,' meetings of a bishop with his clergy. Both were held by Robert of St. Andrews. The one, in 1148, was attended by two abbots, a prior, two Durham monks, an archdeacon, a dean, a magister, a cleric, two monks and two bishop's chaplains; the other, in 1150, by four priors, a king's chaplain and 'many others.' —*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 165, 173.

[3] A papal indulgence granted to the Bishop of St. Andrews in 1156 speaks of 'limites parochiae tuae.'—*Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 25.

Church. Know ye that Edgar my lord, king of the Scots, has granted me Aednaham[1] (Ednam), a desert land which I have rendered habitable with his (or its) assistance and at my own cost. I have built a church to the honour of St. Cuthbert and bestowed it upon St. Cuthbert and his monks to be possessed for ever, with one ploughgate of land.[2] This gift, then, I have made for the soul of King Edgar and for the souls of his father and mother, and for the welfare of his brothers and sisters, and for the redemption of Leswin,[3] my greatly loved brother, and for the welfare of mine own body and soul. And if any one shall venture to take away this my gift from the aforesaid saint and the monks who serve [him] by any violence or device, may God Almighty take from him the life of the kingdom of heaven and may he endure everlasting punishments with the devil and his angels! Amen.'[4]

Two or three years later, Thor Longus petitioned David, who ruled Lothian as Earl, for confirmation of the gift. David responded as follows:—

'David, Earl, to John the Bishop[5] and all his faithful subjects of Lothian, greeting.

'Know ye that I give and grant to God and to St. Cuthbert and to his monks the church of Edenham (Ednam) and one ploughgate of land, in accordance with the gift of Thor Longus [to be held] free and undisturbed for the soul of my father and for the welfare of my soul and of the souls of my wife, my brothers and sisters.'[6]

Sometimes such gifts were made, without the erection of churches, to the monks of a neighbouring monastery. Thus King Edgar in 1100 (?) granted the following charter to Coldingham:—

'Edgar King of the Scots to all Scots and English throughout his kingdom, greeting:

'Know ye that I have come to the dedication of the church of St. Mary at Coldingham. . . . On the altar of the said church I have offered as an endowment and gifted . . . the whole town (*villa*) of Swinton . . . for a perpetual possession to be administered by the monks of St. Cuthbert. I have also, in order that the land may be restored to cultivation, given the monks of St. Cuthbert twenty-four animals and I have ordained the same Peace[1] for going to Coldingham and returning and staying there as is maintained in Eiland and Northam.[2] Besides I have ordained to the men of Coldinghamshire, as they themselves have chosen and attested in my hand, that they shall every year pay the monks half a mark for each ploughgate.'[3]

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[1] A parish on the river Eden two and a half miles from Kelso.

[2] About 104 acres.

[3] Lawrie conjectures that Thor's brother was a Crusader.

[4] Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 38.

[5] Bishop of Glasgow, in which diocese Roxburgh then lay.

[6] *Smaller Chartulary of Durham*. The original of the 'Confirmation' has not been preserved. The copy from which the above is taken has been carelessly made.

These two documents indicate two different methods of providing for the religion of localities. In the one case a church was erected and endowed by a private donor, the donation receiving royal sanction; in the other case, also royally sanctioned, the dwellers in a shire laid themselves under obligation to the clerics of a neighbouring settlement in recognition of its ministrations. In both cases a unit was recognized—a body of persons who secured permanent provision for their religious necessities; but only when a new building was erected was a district marked off as separate. The church gave rise to the parish, not the parish to the church. If many parishes sprang up under Alexander and David, that was simply because they and their followers planted many churches. To speak of 'the institution of the parochial system' as an event is an historical blunder. The system was never instituted, and yet its beginnings are to be found in this period. The introduction of it was facilitated by the fact that it was not a new legislative contrivance, but the voluntary imitation of a development which had been matured in England by the usage of three centuries.

3. Before the erection of bishoprics and parishes had reached any completeness, Romanism had practically triumphed through the pervasive influence of the monastic Orders. Scottish religion, so long isolated, was here affected by a European movement. In the eleventh century there was a

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[1] This is the first mention of the king's 'Peace,' which secured for its possessor the privileges attached to the king's court and castle, and sometimes protection in travel and trade, defined by varying enactments.

[2] Islandshire, including Holy Island, and Norham.

[3] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 17, 257; Black, *Parochial Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 300 ff.

reaction against the fearful disorder and shameless licence that had prevailed in monasteries—a burst of puritanic devoutness, which not only led to the foundation of new Orders but largely purified and strengthened those which had given chief offence. It was mainly through this revived agency that Margaret and her sons achieved their purpose. Not only her confessor but her other advisers were monks; and, when she and her husband built a church at Dunfermline, they placed it in charge of Benedictines. Edgar's religious enterprises centred in the reconstitution and enrichment of the Coldingham monastery. Alexander's foundations at Scone, Loch Tay and Inchcolm were monastic, and he called a monk to the charge of the bishopric of St. Andrews. But it was with David that the movement became extensive.[1] David himself, while in England, had fallen under the spell of Bernard of Clairvaux, who in 1098 instituted the Cistercian Order and in 1115 founded the monastery from which he derives his usual title. In 1117 he made a pilgrimage to the abbey of Tiron, near Chartres, to see St. Bernard and, although the saint had died before his arrival, he persuaded twelve Tiron monks and an abbot to return with him to Scotland, placing them in charge of the abbey which he founded at Selkirk and which, in 1128, was transplanted to Kelso. Holyrood abbey,[2] founded in 1128 and chartered in 1142, was entrusted to Augustinians. Dunfermline, which became an abbey in 1128, had a Benedictine prior of Canterbury as its first abbot. Melrose was given to Cistercians from Rievaulx between 1130 and 1133, and from Melrose sprang Newbottle some six years later and Kinloss in Morayshire in 1150. About 1135 Cluniac monks from Reading were settled on the Isle of May, and before 1138 canons from Beauvais at Jedburgh. In 1144 St. Andrews was converted into an Augustinian priory. A papal Bull of 1147 confirmed the institution of the abbey of St. Mary, Stirling, which was staffed by canons regular from Aroise, and before 1150 Premonstratensians from Alnwick had made a home at Dryburgh.

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[1] The gifts of David to monasteries were almost prodigal. Bellenden (xii. 17) writes that James I, when he stood at David's tomb at Dunfermline, murmured, 'He was ane soir sanct for the Crown.'

[2] According to legend this famous abbey was founded to commemorate a great deliverance. David, when hunting on Holy Cross day in defiance of his confessor's counsel, was pursued and unhorsed by a stag of wondrous speed and beauty. He grasped the antlers to save his life and the stag vanished, leaving in his hands not antlers but a mystic cross. This legend is a close reproduction of a tale told of St. Hubertus, bishop first of Maestricht then of Liège, who died *circa* 729. Other holy roods appear in older legends—a rood of pure gold placed by St. Margaret in Dunfermline church, and a black rood which she brought from Cologne to Scotland and which comforted David on his death-bed. Turgot refers to both of these. Ailred in his 'Lament' glorifies the Black Rood, which the Bollandists (xxi. 325) connect with the foundation of the abbey.

Several of these foundations had offshoots of considerable consequence, such as Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire and Urquhart near Elgin. There were also settlements of other Orders which cannot be definitely located. Before 1153 the Knights Templars were privileged land-holders somewhere in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews,[1] and there are similar traces of several nameless priories. Yet those which we have mentioned were the most important; they were, at least, the only foundations of Queen Margaret's sons which were known in England.[2]

All of them, it will be noted, except the small settlements at Kinloss and on Loch Tay, were in Lothian or Fife, the district which had become central and influential. The transition by which the Firth of Forth was bridged and the debatable land to the south was welded into the nation, with Edinburgh as political and St. Andrews as religious capital, was of unlimited consequences for Scotland. It was there, on both sides of the Firth, that the Roman Church gained strength, and this must be ascribed not to episcopal administration nor to the stated services of parish priests, but to abbeys and priories planted in those regions. The movement was social and indeed racial as well as religious. New constituents in very large numbers were added to the population. Symeon of Durham, writing in 1120, says that servants and handmaids of English race were to be found in every hamlet and hut. These had been brought by the Scots as captives; but in the next half-century there arrived, with the monks, a stream of settlers engaged in trade and agriculture, who frequented the towns or markets which were usually established in the vicinity of monasteries. According to another chronicler, William of Newburgh, all the inhabitants of Scottish towns and burghs were Englishmen, and while this cannot have been strictly true north of the Forth, 'the town-population of Lothian was chiefly composed of English and Flemings.'[1] Thus it was not among aliens who required to be converted that the monks exercised their various vocations, but among southerners whose religious training and traditions had been those of the Latin Churches. In the fusion of races which ensued, the Church of the more civilized steadily and swiftly prevailed. Scottish patriotism need not shrink from the thought that the religion of the nation was so largely influenced by immigrants from the south, for the same royal hand which enriched Cistercians and Augustinians gave the Bruces and the Cunninghams a home on Scottish soil.[2] The arrival and dominance of the agencies of the Roman Church were essential elements of a movement which made the last important addition to a composite nationality.

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[1] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 213, 396.

[2] John of Hexham, who adds to the above list two priories (Holmcultram and Dundrennan) which were outside Scotland ecclesiastically, says that he has named those situated 'on this side of the sea of Scotland,' *i.e.* the Forth.—Symeon of Durham, ii. 330. The nunneries of Gullane in Lothian, Strafontaine in Lammermuir, and Elbottle in Haddington may have been founded before 1153, but they were unimportant.

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[1] Rait (*Making of Scotland*, p. 31 ff.) points out that there is no sufficient proof of a racial displacement north of the Forth.

[2] By a charter of 1124 David granted Annandale to 'Robertus de Brus.'—*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 48.

CHAPTER XI

QUEEN MARGARET AND HER SONS (*continued*)

1057-1153

Resources of monasteries—Economic consequences—Relation of abbeys to dioceses—Metropolitan claims of English archbishops—Repelled at St. Andrews and Glasgow—Papal intervention—Disappearance of Celtic Church—The last of the Culdees—The Church linked to Rome.

THE monks through whose agency Scotland was Romanized have left no record in literature. Regarding their personal character and their religious temper, history discloses only that they occupied their settlements quietly and established amicable relations with their neighbours. There is no ground for speaking of them either as professional adventurers, or as ecclesiastical propagandists, or as devoted and scholarly missionaries. Their benevolent purpose is attested by the transference to them of several hospices connected with churches and lands which they received,[1] and it may be assumed that, even where no such trust devolved upon them, they exercised the hospitality which was an essential feature of western monachism. Less distinct are the records of any educational function which they served. All that is known is that in some monasteries the office of the Celtic ferleiginn (teacher) was maintained after the transition, and that schools at Roxburgh, at Stirling and probably at Perth were transferred to abbeys before 1153.[2] The intellectual sterility of the monks checks any disposition to generalize from such scanty details. They cannot be credited even with the composition of a book of annals.[1]

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[1] Hospices at Earlston and Lesmahagow were given to Kelso abbey: Ford was given to Holyrood and Ednam to Dryburgh; the 'old' St. Andrews hospital was given to the new canons. All these were for the lodging of poor travellers. There was a leper-hospital at Old Cambus; but it was not monastic. —*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 125, 135, 167, 215, 260, etc.

[2] *Regist. de Dunf.*, No. 92; *Liber de Calchou*, No. 2.

In one respect, however, their progress and their influence are indisputable. From the reign of Canmore and Margaret onwards they appear in genuine documents as recipients of gifts and holders of properties, at first on a small scale but in rapidly increasing magnitude and variety. No doubt these were externalities, but they affected religion vitally and permanently. They determined the relation of the Church to the Crown, to the nobility and to the body of the people, while they penetrated and coloured the public and private ministrations of religion. An enumeration of the possessions acquired before the death of David is impossible, the surviving information being fragmentary; but their extent is less important than their character, which can be presented by a single example. The abbey of Dunfermline is selected, because a large number of its charters have been preserved. An abstract of their contents may seem at first sight to be tedious reading, but it will guide the reader in regions in which generalities are worthless.

Queen Margaret dedicated the church which she built at Dunfermline to the Holy Trinity, equipping it with many costly ornaments and assigning it to Benedictine monks as a priory. At the beginning of David's reign it was enlarged and, when in 1128 it was consecrated as an abbey under Geoffrey, prior of Canterbury, the king enumerated and confirmed the gifts of his predecessors as follows:—

Broomhill, Pitcorthy, Petbachly, Pitnaurcha, Bolgie, Kirkaldyshire, Inveresk, Lauar, Inveresk Minor, Hailes in Edinburghshire and lands in Kinglassie, Raith, Humbie and other parishes on both sides of the Forth. To these he added Kinghorn, Inveresk Major with mill and fishings, dwellings (*mansurae*) in Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling and Perth, the church of the burgh of Perth (St. John

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[1] Some patriotic Scottish historians allege that valuable chronicles of this date came into the possession of Edward I in 1292 and were destroyed in England; but the two chronicles of the latter part of the twelfth century which survive—those of Melrose and Holyrood—are very illiterate and read rather like first endeavours. There is no evidence that earlier documents existed.

Baptist's) and a rent of 100 shillings secured on property in England, these properties being freed from all burdens except military service, an eighth part of all payments and fines due to the Royal Court of Fife and Fothrif, a tenth of rents paid to the king in the same district, a tenth of the game brought to Dunfermline, half of the hides and fat of all beasts killed in the royal kitchen on the occasion of banquets held at Stirling and anywhere between the Forth and the Tay, one ship free of duty at all ports, and the right of taking wood for building and fire from the king's forests, all the offerings laid upon the Great Altar of the church, every seventh seal caught at Kinghorn after deduction of tenths, and a tenth of the salt and iron brought to Dunfermline for the king's use. Further, it was ordained that Holy Trinity should be exempt from subjection and payment to any secular or ecclesiastical power and should enjoy the same liberties as the church of St. Andrews.

In the same year, by a separate deed, a tenth of the provisions brought to the king's house at Perth was secured to the abbey.

In 1130 the abbot and monks were set free for ever from all work on castles, bridges and other undertakings. A tithe of the pennies of the king's census at Stirling was assigned to the abbot. The abbey was gifted with the harbour dues of Musselburgh and with a ploughgate in the parish of Liberton and the houses inhabited by the wife of Roger Cass, reserving her liferent. The abbot's own ship with its cargo was exempted from all dues.

In 1133 there was a gift of a tithe of the flour, cheese, barley for brewing, pigs and cows, and of payments in specie due to the king from Fife, Fothrif and Clackmannan.

In 1135 the king enacted that the people of Newburn shall not be subject to any other court than that of the Holy Trinity and its abbot, at which the king's 'judex' shall always be present to see that justice is done.

In 1136 a fishing in the Tweed and a toft in Berwick were assigned to the church of Holy Trinity.

In 1140 a saltpan beside the king's saltpans within Stirling territory was given to the abbey, the workers to be protected by the king's Peace; also, certain lands in Morayshire, with their pertinents and freedom to hunt in the woods, these lands too to be held under the king's Peace.

In 1143 the property of Carberry in Midlothian was given to Holy Trinity. Between 1147 and 1153 a toft in Haddington free from all dues and servitudes, the right of taking building-material from the king's woods, the 'villæ' of Nithbren and Belacristin (reserving the rights of the Culdees), and the churches of West Calder and Kirknewton, with the lands adjacent to these churches, were gifted to Holy Trinity, the abbey and the monks; also, a toft in Haddington, bestowed by the widow of the king's son, a church at Dunkeld and five properties near Coupar Angus. By a special confirmation, Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, recognized the right of Dunfermline abbey to 'possess' ten specified churches with all their pertinents, including in two cases schools, free from all servitude and secular dues, with reservation of episcopal right and due.[1]

This one abbey, then, in addition to possessions in its immediate vicinity, acquired lands as far north as Elgin and as far south as Berwick; houses in widely scattered burghs; trading rights, fishing rights and hunting rights; exemptions from taxation, from specific dues and from body-services; a proportion of some payments due to the king, varying from a half to a tenth; numerous churches with their endowments and the offerings of the faithful at the local altar. A comparison between these gifts and those bestowed on other highly favoured abbeys indicates that some abbeys soon equalled Dunfermline in wealth; and even in the case of smaller institutions the donations had the same miscellaneous character, with consequences which were independent of the personal behaviour of the monks. Abbeys and priories, with their officials and their occupants, became prominent and influential in the economic and social life of the nation. Their resources were bound to increase rapidly. In agriculture and trade, private venturers could not rival men who received many of the necessaries of life gratis and paid few local taxes,[2] whose factories and ships were exempt from dues, and who were rarely called upon for military service, which in the twelfth century drained the strength and resources of laymen. It was neither to the credit nor to the discredit of the monks that in trade they outstripped other traders [1] and that they prospered as cultivators of the soil.

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[1] The above list is far from exhaustive. Charters which are not undoubtedly genuine have not been taken into account, and as a rule only one gift of each type has been quoted. The text of the charters is given in *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 52 ff.

[2] From national taxation monasteries were probably not exempted by such privileges as those quoted above.

The allocation of lands and churches to monasteries had another result which was wholly injurious to the Church. It impinged upon a systematic distribution of Church agencies, being at variance both with diocesan and with parochial arrangements. The abbeys, as in most countries, were largely independent. At St. Andrews indeed the cathedral staff was composed of Augustinian monks, but in this respect St. Andrews stood alone.[2] Elsewhere the monastic and diocesan organizations were separate. As early as 1128 Kelso abbey, at the request of the king, was allowed to take 'chrism and oil and the ordination of the abbot and monks and all the other sacraments of Holy Church from any bishop they pleased in Scotland or in Cumbria.'[3] Still more striking is the fact that early in David's reign the allocation to abbeys of distant churches and their endowments was a recognized usage. Before 1147 he bestowed a Perthshire endowment upon the monks of Reading,[4] who ultimately directed the affairs of the Perthshire church from their settlement in the Isle of May. A few years earlier he gave the church of Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire to the abbey of Kelso, exempting it from episcopal authority.[5] Such grants were frequent and caused serious confusion. Sometimes disputes arose between the abbots who received the grants and the bishops whose rights were impaired or cancelled,[6] and even when individual bishops were parties to donations, the detachment of churches from the ecclesiastical fabric was none the less hurtful.

This irregularity, however, gave rise at the time to no important collision. The weakness of the new episcopate and the chief hindrance to its efficiency lay in a different direction. It had no unity, no organic coherence, and consequently no means of joint resistance to the aggressions of the Church of England. Accordingly the striving of the nation for independence was reflected, from stage to stage, in serious and hurtful Church struggles. Although it is by English chroniclers that these are recorded and allowance must be made for their bias, the general course of the contention is clear.

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[1] The monks of Melrose in their Flemish trade were specially privileged by the court of Flanders.

[2] Whithorn, which was similarly constituted, was not ecclesiastically Scottish at this time. In England at least eight sees including Canterbury were monastic foundations.

[3] *Liber de Calchou*, No. 443.

[4] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 123.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 135, 397.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 403.

In the middle of the eleventh century debates arose in England as to the authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in the north. A letter from Gregory the Great, preserved by Bede, had spoken of the authority of Augustine over 'all the priests of Britain,'[1] and another pope, Vitalian, had in 668 given Theodore of Canterbury charge of 'all churches situated in the island of Britain.'[2] These high authorities were appealed to in support of the claim of Canterbury to metropolitan rights over York and Scotland.[3] But in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries York had practically been responsible for such progress as was made in the north, and in 1070 Thomas of York made claim to an independent primacy. A Council held at Windsor in 1072 with papal approval, while affirming the primatial supremacy of Canterbury, recognized the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of York north of the Humber, but the Scots were not party to that agreement.[4] It was by Canterbury not by York that Queen Margaret was guided, and her sons, while willing to take advice from Canterbury, resented the idea that either archbishop had any official authority in Scotland. Yet they were unable to provide themselves with bishops such as they required. Only men trained in the south were personally qualified to upbuild the Church, and the qualification conferred by consecration could not be obtained in Scotland. Accordingly, when in 1093 the last Celtic 'bishop of the Scots' died, there was a dead-lock, and for fourteen years Scotland had no bishop. In 1107 Turgot, Queen Margaret's chaplain, was appointed to the bishopric of St. Andrews by Alexander,[1] but there was more than a year's delay in consecration. The see of York had been vacant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury forbade the new archbishop to consecrate until he professed obedience to Canterbury. Alexander resented this and, when Turgot was consecrated by York, secured a proviso that the consecration implied no subjection, and that the authority of the Churches of 'both nations' was unimpaired.[2] The proviso, however, failed to secure peace. Quarrels arose at St. Andrews, and Turgot 'fell into melancholia.' When he proposed to consult 'the Lord Pope,' Alexander interposed a veto, and Turgot withdrew to his old home at Wearmouth where he died in 1115.[3] On his death Alexander wrote to Canterbury, requesting assistance in securing a successor and protesting against the idea that York had authority over St. Andrews;[4] but for five years the request and the protest were ineffective. Meanwhile St. Andrews was irregularly administered by William, a monk of St. Edmunds, who appropriated the revenues of the see.[5] In 1119 Pope Calixtus II intervened, enjoining all the Scottish bishops as 'suffragans of York' to take consecration from York alone.[6] But the Scottish king was unmoved and seems to have been upheld by Canterbury; for in 1120, at Alexander's request, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, selected Eadmer, the skilful historian of Anselm's life and times, for the vacant bishopric. In granting this favour Ralph showed a good deal of hesitation, enjoining Eadmer to guard 'the honour of the Holy Mother Church of Canterbury,' and events showed that his anxiety was well founded. On Eadmer's arrival he 'received' the bishopric, but when arrangements for his formal institution were taken in hand strife arose at once. The king expressed detestation of the idea that St. Andrews was subject to York, and Eadmer, hoping to calm him, alleged that Canterbury was supreme over 'all Britain.' This greatly excited Alexander, who protested that the Scots were in no way subject to Canterbury. At this stage the contest took shape from the struggle as to Investitures with which all Europe was ringing. Eadmer refused to receive investiture from the king. A curious compromise was reached, the badge of office being laid upon the church altar by the king and taken thence by the bishop. Thereafter he was formally welcomed by 'the students and the people,'[1] but he was not yet consecrated. He asserted that the consecration must take place at Canterbury, of which he was a monk. To this both Alexander and York objected. The king of England intervened as a peacemaker, but in vain. There was no consecration, and Eadmer's position became intolerable. Alexander treated him rudely and even roughly, refusing to speak with him and hindering him in his administration. He consulted some brother monks and the Bishop of Glasgow, who, as will be seen presently, had his own difficulties with the king; and he was advised by them that, unless he was prepared to comply with Scottish usages (*usus Scottorum*), he need not hope for peace. 'We know the man; he wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone and will not endure any authority outside his own control.'[2] Acting upon this advice, Eadmer laid his staff on the altar from which he had taken it and withdrew to Canterbury. Alexander wrote to the archbishop, charging Eadmer with having failed in his diocese through his refusal to comply with 'the customs of the land and the manners of the people';[3] but the reply of Ralph shows clearly the real question at issue, for he insisted that a monk must be obedient to 'the place of his election.'

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, i. 29.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 116.

[3] Bede (*H. E.*, iv. 2) writes that Theodore's authority extended over 'omnis ecclesiá *Anglorum*'; but the English chroniclers misquoted his words so that they might include Scotland.—Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 250; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 284.

[4] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 324. At the Council the domain of York was said to extend *usque ad extremos Scotiae fines*. An English chronicler of the fourteenth century alleges that Margaret, Malcolm and the Bishop of St. Andrews assented to that arrangement.—*Scriptores Decem*, 1709. The general policy of Malcolm and Margaret makes this extremely unlikely, and 'the authority is that of a partisan.'—Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 160.

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[1] Symeon of Durham says that the appointment was made by the king of England at Alexander's request: Eadmer says 'by the clergy and people of Scotland.' Each of these writers has his own motive.—Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, pp. 129-30.

[2] The fact naturally was denied by York.—Raine, *York*, ii. 371.

[3] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 204, 205; *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 267-9; *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 1, 2. On Turgot, see page 155 ff.

[4] In this letter Alexander makes the strange statement that 'in ancient times' bishops of St. Andrews were consecrated either by the Pope or by Canterbury.—Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 236.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[6] Raine, *York*, iii. 40.

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[1] 'A scholasticis et plebe.'

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 279 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 285-6. Cf. page 162.

At this stage Eadmer was advised to ignore both Canterbury and York and to apply to the Pope for consecration,[1] but for reasons which are not known he resolved otherwise. In 1122 he wrote to Alexander respectfully and even humbly, asking leave to return to St. Andrews and promising to comply with the king's wishes, and his request was supported by a letter from Ralph[2] in which the disputed question was entirely ignored. Alexander, however, had taken the measure both of the Archbishop and of the Bishop-elect, and preferred an irregular administration of Church affairs by the monk William above-mentioned. There seems to have been no bishop of St. Andrews until the death of Eadmer in 1124, when Alexander appointed Robert, prior of Scone, a churchman upon whose loyalty he knew that he could reckon. Robert positively refused to acknowledge any subjection to York,[3] although the refusal delayed his consecration for four years. When he was consecrated by York in 1128, the consecration was 'without profession of obedience.' It was agreed that 'the complaint of York and the rights of St. Andrews' should not be affected, the Archbishop stating that he made this concession from love of David, the revered king of Scotland.[4]

This strenuous contention was outlived by another, which had arisen about the same time, with regard to Glasgow. To that see David, when still only 'earl,' appointed a churchman of 'British' descent, John,[5] who showed both vigour and persistency in resisting English claims. He evaded the claim of York by securing consecration from Pope Paschal II, and in 1122 definitely declined to acknowledge York as his metropolitan. Being suspended for disobedience, he carried his case to Rome in person, but the Pope, Calixtus II, rejected his plea and he retired to Palestine in dudgeon.[1] Although the Pope declared imperiously that he must obey York, of which all Scottish sees were 'suffragan,' he was obdurate,[2] and the next pope, Honorius II, despatched a cardinal to Scotland in 1125, with instructions to hold a Legatine Council of the Scottish bishops at Roxburgh to settle the dispute, the first attempt of Rome at personal administration of Scottish affairs. There is no record of the proceedings of the Council, but the conclusion reached is proved by another injunction from the Pope, dated December 1125, commanding John to recognize York as his metropolitan.[3] At this stage (in 1125 or 1126) the two English archbishops and John appeared at Rome, and the case was argued informally before the Curia. Canterbury and York were at variance in their statements, while John contended that Scotland was not part of England and was entitled to a separate archbishopric. He seems to have succeeded so far as to secure a second hearing, which, for some unknown reason, did not take place.[4] Some vague agreement was reached, but the only clue to its character is the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1127 'to represent Rome in England and Scotland.'[5] The reconciliation was transient. In 1131 and 1134 another pope (Innocent II) had to admonish John to be obedient to York. It is noteworthy that in 1134 this pope sought to console the Archbishop of York for the wrongs he had to suffer at the hands of that zealous churchman David,[6] and in 1136 instructed the Archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce anathema upon the Bishop of Glasgow 'unless within three months he returned to his holy Mother the Church of Rome and of York.'[7] By this time the political and religious interests of Scotland were inseparably blended and the former were stronger than the latter. When David led his army into England he was indisputably an enemy of the English Church. In the Battle of the Standard he fought against the archbishop whom successive popes had declared to be the metropolitan of Scotland.[1] When we read in one chronicler that 'Jesus Christ was present as the commander' of the English, it is easy to understand the allegation of another that 'the Scots were at variance with the Cisalpine, indeed with the universal Church,' and favoured the Antipope (Anacletus II). The desire of some writers to justify the canonization of David has led them to draw a veil over the fact that for years he set at nought the injunctions of Rome, and that in his reign Scotland shared with Sicily the discreditable eminence of antagonism to the true Pope.

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[1] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 234-6.

[2] This curious letter is printed by Lawrie, pp. 38-9.

[3] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 275. It is curious that he had once been a canon of St. Oswald's in Yorkshire.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 4 n.

[4] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 64, 65.

[5] Grub (i. 220) holds that he and Michael (see page 165) were the same man; but cf. Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 14, and *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 294.

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[1] Raine, *York*, iii. 46.

[2] It is impossible to trace John's movements at this stage.

[3] Raine, *York*, iii. 49. Lawrie (p. 310) doubts if a Council was held at Roxburgh, as alleged by Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 277.

[4] The text of the chronicle is corrupt. Cf. *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 268, with *Scottish Annals*, p. 160, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 295, and Grub, i. 264.

[5] Florence of Worcester, ii. 84.

[6] Raine, *York*, iii. 63.

[7] *Ibid.*, iii. 66.

After the Battle of the Standard Rome intervened successfully. In 1139 a papal legate, Alberic,[2] bishop of Ostia, held a meeting at Carlisle with David, his 'bishops, abbots, priors and barons,' which may perhaps be termed a Church Council.[3] Terms of peace were adjusted and, later in the year, with the assistance of Queen Maud, these were ratified by the Treaty of Durham. No doubt questions of territory and sovereignty held a primary place in the settlement, but it was in the interests of Holy Church that the legate pleaded with David for a settlement. The confusion had indeed become intolerable. While York had encroached upon the diocese of Glasgow by securing the institution of the bishopric of Carlisle, the affairs of Glasgow itself had become so embroiled that John had abandoned his office and returned to monastic life at Tiron in France, being absent from the consecration of his own cathedral. After the Carlisle meeting he was recalled by 'apostolic authority' and, during the remainder of his life, showed much administrative ability, taking part in the foundation of Jedburgh priory and Kilwinning abbey. The question of jurisdiction, however, with its important bearings on the independence of the Church and the nation, was still unsettled. When John died in 1147 it was evaded by the consecration of his successor at Auxerre by Pope Eugenius III. Yet for the time papal diplomacy had been successful and had secured, not only the return of Scotland to allegiance to Rome, but an increased sense of the value of Roman authority. How completely David regained papal favour was shown when in 1151 a cardinal legate, on his way to Ireland, applied for a safe-conduct through Scottish territory. David hastened to meet him at Carlisle and entertained him with affectionate deference, at the same time testifying his good-will to the English Church by costly offerings to Northumbrian shrines which had been plundered by his own soldiers, whose churchmanship had been weaker than their patriotism or their cupidity.[1]

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[1] The confusion of relationships appears in the fact that the English clergy who granted absolution to those who fought against the Scots were led by the Bishop of Orkney.—*Chronicles of reign of Stephen*, iii. 162. The banner of England was surmounted by a pyx containing the Sacred Host.

[2] Hume Brown (*History*, i. 82) calls him 'Orderic.'

[3] *Chronicles of reign of Stephen*, iii. 177-8.

The resistance to papal authority had been resolute, but it had no religious significance. It can scarcely be said to have had an ecclesiastical character, although Church matters were in dispute. Its real meaning was that a singularly devout king and his subjects held their religious sentiments and projects in strict subordination to the dictates of their patriotism.

The most remarkable aspect of the acceptance by the nation of Roman authority was the swift, silent and almost complete disappearance of the Celtic Church and of all that was distinctive of its life. There was no parallel to the antagonism between Latin and Celtic cultus by which Ireland was distracted, nor any outcry such as usually attends the demise of a national system of religion. The picture of Malcolm tearing a nun's veil from his daughter's head; and the angry complaint of Alexander that the new bishops ignored the usages and manners of the people,[2] are the only tokens of resentment. No doubt this was partly due to the fact that until the end of the twelfth century there was little propagation of Latin Christianity in the districts which were most distinctly Celtic.[1] David required to send instructions (1140-5) to the Earl of Orkney that the monks of Dornoch and their property must not be injured or abused,[2] and when a bishop of Caithness first ventured into his diocese, he received a savage welcome. In these cases, however, the opposition was as much Norse as Celtic. Elsewhere the transition was made quietly. Of resistance to English authority and English laws there are many traces, but the champions of national independence were the very kings who promoted the religious change. In truth the Celtic Church had all but ceased to discharge a religious function and asserted no religious principle which could rally opposing forces to resistance.[3] So it was that the only opponents were the monks who held office and property in ancient Celtic settlements, and who are entitled Culdees in all the records of the time. Their experiences, which have elements of picturesqueness and of pathos, can be understood only in view of developments which extended into the thirteenth century, and it will be convenient to overstep the date prefixed to this chapter in explaining how they fared under the new Church system.

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[1] Symeon of Durham, *H. R.*, ii. 326.

[2] See pages 154, 162, 181.

They had, as has been shown, yielded to Margaret's arguments by surrendering those usages which gave her most offence, and during her reign and her son Edgar's they were gently and even generously treated.[4] Priests or monks from the south were added to their settlements and amalgamated with them quietly without collision.[5] When in 1107 the Celtic 'bishop of the Scots' was succeeded by the Anglican Turgot, Celtic Christianity was practically doomed.[6]

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[1] In Moray and in Argyll the standard of rebellion was raised and battles were fought, but there is neither proof nor probability that any religious issue was involved.

[2] *Regist. de Dunf.*, c. 23.

[3] The chronicler (Orderic Vital), who records that Queen Margaret rebuilt the cœnobium at Iona, says that she equipped it with monks. Yet no attempt was made (at this stage) to enforce conformity to canonical law. Malcolm before his death ceded the isle to the Norwegians. See Chapter XIII.

[4] As late as 1093 a bishop of St. Andrews granted lands to the Culdees.—*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 9, 240.

[5] A Notitia of Ethelred, not later than 1107, is witnessed at Abernethy by two 'priests of Abernethy,' a 'priest of the Keledei,' and the rector of the Abernethy schools, who at that date lived at Abernethy.—*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[6] The Chronicle of Durham says that with Turgot's appointment 'totum ius Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiae transivit in episcopatum S. Andreae.'

Yet during Turgot's weak administration no hand was laid upon the Culdees. In Lothian, where the southern influences were working most strongly, the Culdees were non-existent, nor had they any settlements on the south-west coast. North of the Forth and Clyde their monasteries became the centres of the new religious energy, and in several cases the seats of the new bishoprics—almost as if by agreement. At Abernethy, for instance, as late as 1189-96, we find a married abbot, with the sanction of the Bishop of Dunblane, apportioning tithes between the Culdees there and the monks of Arbroath, without any recognition that they represented conflicting systems. Twenty years later a dispute arose about tithes, and the Culdees were worsted; but not till 1272 was their monastery converted into a priory of canons regular.[1] In fact, at that date Dunblane itself, the seat of the bishop, was in the hands of Culdees, and bishops and Culdees must be held alike responsible for the fact that in the thirteenth century the cathedral was shockingly neglected.[2] So at Brechin King William (1165-71) confirmed a grant made by his father David to 'the bishops and Keledei of the church of Brechin,' and at the very close of that century the prior of the Culdees held higher rank than the abbot.[3] In 1248 the Culdee official gave place to a dean and thereafter disappeared, but without any sign of commotion. From the seats of the bishops of Caithness and Ross the old officials passed away as quietly about the same date, leaving cathedral Chapters in their room; whereas at Dunkeld and on Iona[4] they survived, side by side with monks of the new Orders, till the thirteenth century closed.

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[1] A charter of 1225 is attested by 'priors of the Culdees' at Abernethy and Muthil.—*Chart. of Lindores*, p. 55.

[2] In 1238 the bishop complained to the Pope that his predecessors had been 'simple and negligent' and that the revenues had been appropriated or wasted.

[3] The documents which substantiate these and the following statements have been gathered together by Reeves. His evidences, however, should be supplemented by the *Mappa Mundi* (1207) preserved by Gervase of Canterbury; Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, p. 327; *Chart. of Lindores*, pp. 167, 266; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 55.

[4] Myln, who wrote in 1485, cannot be regarded as a valid witness for the supersession of the Dunkeld Culdees by David. In 1272 Dunkeld had both Black canons and Culdees. On the blend of officials on Iona see Chapter XIII *ad fin.*

Three settlements of less repute showed more tenacity, —Muthil in Perthshire, Monifieth in Forfarshire and Monymusk in Aberdeenshire. The story of the Culdees of Monymusk has special value as showing the inadequacy of partisan sketches of the Culdees. They owed their resources to Malcolm Canmore, by whom in 1080 they were affiliated to St. Andrews, and to various Earls of Mar. In the thirteenth century they are styled 'Keledei sive canonici,' without any indication that they were at variance with the then dominant Church. In 1211, however, an appeal was lodged with the Pope against an attempt made by some of them to act as canons regular. After an inquiry, they were forbidden to take vows and constituted into a close corporation of secular priests, twelve in number. The limitation failed to serve its purpose and, before 1245, they gave place to Augustinians.

While in outlying settlements the Culdees were involved in no serious or important contention, it was different in the two monasteries where their strength was greatest, St. Andrews and St. Serf's. At St. Andrews the resistance to English churchmen and their ways was definite,[1] and it cannot be doubted that the Culdees headed the opposition which baffled Bishop Turgot and Bishop Eadmer. A confusion arose which would be incredible, if it had not been delineated, in rude but graphic Latin, by the pen of Eadmer's vigorous successor, Robert.[2] Although half a century had passed since the nominal acceptance of Roman usages, there was, in the seat of the chief bishops of the land, no celebration of the Latin mass except at the time of episcopal or royal visits. At other times, in a corner of the 'unduly small church, the Culdees celebrated their own office after their own fashion.' They were a community of thirteen maintained by family succession, who served at the altar in courses. 'Their life,' says the chronicler, 'was shaped more in accordance with their own ideas and human traditions than with the precepts of the holy fathers.' Some possessions they held in common, but they also had individual property from private sources and from the offerings of those to whom they acted as soul-friends (*amcharae*).[1] They had no share in the offerings of the altar, which were divided among seven persons—the bishop, the master of a hospice for six guests, and five other persons who performed no religious office, beyond entertaining strangers when the beds of the hospice were occupied. To some extent these abuses had been mitigated by Alexander, who enriched the bishopric and bestowed lands entitled the Boar's Course upon the Church.

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[1] See pages 180-182.

[2] We accept Reeves' view that Robert was probably the author.—*The Culdees*, p. 37.

Although some details of this picture may be exaggerated, the events that followed prove that its main lines are accurate and that Church properties had passed into the hands of laymen, while the Celtic monks ministered irregularly to a handful of impotent adherents. As soon as the contentions with England about jurisdiction abated, Bishop Robert, who was skilful as well as zealous in his churchmanship, struck straight at the Culdees. In 1144 he established at St. Andrews a corporation of Augustinian canons, endowed them with lands and with two-sevenths of the altar gifts of the church, transferred to them the hospice with its endowments and, generally, gave them the position of representatives of the Church. These proceedings were at once confirmed by royal charters and by a papal Bull, and in 1147 Pope Eugenius III increased the powers of the Augustinians. He not only gave them a title to elect their own superior,[2] but enacted that on the decease of Culdees canons regular should be appointed in their places. In 1150 David made this enactment more definite. He decreed that the Culdees should be received into the Augustinian foundation, with all their possessions and revenues, if they agreed to take the canonical vows, and that, if they refused they should retain their place and income till they died off, each vacant place being filled by an Augustinian canon.[1] The transference was completed in 1152, when the bishop assigned to the Augustinians six of the seven altar-shares of the St. Andrews church, retaining the seventh for episcopal purposes.[2]

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[1] The title of Confessors in the Church of Columba. See page 57.

[2] The papal enactment is vague, designating the superior neither as bishop nor as prior; but Bishop Robert, when defining the right conferred, designates it as the right to elect 'a prior.'—*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 144, 211.

The Culdees of St. Serf's were dealt with still more severely. Their monastery, one of the oldest on the Scottish mainland, had been honoured by Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, enriched by Ethelred and Edgar, and protected by David himself against the encroachment of a layman.[3] Two royal charters, as late as 1150, recognize their titles to property, but in that very year[4] they were annihilated by a single stroke. David issued a charter so sweeping and ruthless that it deserves to be transcribed.

> 'David, king of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, sheriffs and all honest men in his whole kingdom, greeting:
>
> 'Know ye that I have given and granted to the canons of St. Andrews the island of Lochleven, in order that they may institute there a canonical Order, and that the Keledei who shall be found there, if they choose to live according to the canons, may remain at peace with them and under them. If any one of them chooses to oppose this, I give orders that he be cast out of the island.'[5]

In 1152-3[6] Bishop Robert shaped this into a deed of gift, conferring upon the Augustinians the properties which the Culdees had received from Malcolm Canmore and which David had declared to be theirs inalienably, and including in the gift their 'ecclesiastical vestments.'[7]

Although at St. Serf's this was the end of the 'servants of God,' it was very different at St. Andrews. There they maintained their rights tenaciously in spite of bishop, king and pope. In 1160 Malcolm IV was constrained to recognize their title to certain properties. Till the end of the twelfth century they retained the church of St. Mary with the status and income of 'vicars' and an abbot as their chief, and compelled the Augustinians to come to a legal agreement with them. Seven popes in succession required to repeat the Bull by which they were superseded. They contended for their properties so strenuously that, in 1253, they were summoned to Rome to defend their cause and, when that contention was over, they fought for their right to take part in the election of St. Andrews bishops, which seems to have been recognized till 1273. Although again defeated on appeal to Rome, they protested at every episcopal election until 1332, and meanwhile maintained a suit against the see of St. Andrews for their title to the Boar's Course. In the middle of the fourteenth century they ceased to be known as Keledei, but they survived till the Reformation as a corporation of ten prebends with a provost usually entitled 'Praepositus ecclesiae beatae Mariae civitatis S. Andreae.'[1] By a curious destiny their hospice, an indisputably Celtic foundation, which during those strivings was under the Augustinians and ultimately became the residence of their prior, was transmuted in the sixteenth century into St. Leonard's College, the scene of the prelude to the great national revolt against Rome.[2]

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[1] David's charter is dated by Reeves (p. 110) 'circa 1144,' by Lawrie 'circa 1150'; the later date is the more likely. This was confirmed in Bulls of Adrian IV (1156) and Alexander III (1163).—*Annals of Malcolm and William*, pp. 23, 74.

[2] Here again Lawrie's date is to be preferred to Reeves'. Cf. *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 214, with *The Culdees*, p. 111: Robert's successor surrendered his seventh to the canons.

[3] *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 66, 168, 181.

[4] Reeves (p. 52) says 'in 1145,' an impossible date, since David recognized the title of the Culdees in 1150.

[5] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 187.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 210; Reeves (p. 130) says '1144-50.'

[7] On 'The Culdee Library' given to the Augustinians, see Note H.

This struggle for existence,[3] it must be noted, had no religious aspect or significance. There is no reason for thinking that the later Keledei had any distinctive principles or sentiments or even traditions. Their longevity at St. Andrews was that of a local corporation adhering doggedly to certain properties and privileges. Even in the twelfth century they showed no special spirituality either there or elsewhere. To be severely handled by civil or ecclesiastical authorities does not constitute saintliness. Severely handled they certainly were, and in the treatment meted out to St. Serf's, which according to the lowest estimate was a harmless institution, there was not only personal harshness but an ungracious forgetfulness of the past. But there is no warrant for describing the policy which was pursued as hurtful to Christian interests. Everywhere in Scotland the Culdee light had faded, and it is absurd to allege that the nation was deprived of a pure and free faith by tyranny or priestcraft.

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[1] Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 105-17.

[2] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 392.

[3] The last of the Culdees were Irish, not Scottish. In 1448 the Primate of Ireland declared, after a judicial inquiry, that the Prior of the Armagh Culdees held a ministerial office, not a cure of souls. Yet the title survived at Armagh till 1628. Culdee seculars existed at Devernish in Lough Erne in 1630. In 1667 the canons at Killaloe are called 'Culdees.' All these were survivals of Celtic Christianity. There are indications that the Irish Culdees were skilled in Church music.

The new religious agencies were indeed irresistible, and they were checked only by the collisions which their own multiplicity and variety entailed. A network had been spread over the land. The Latin Church was established with a thoroughness which no formal legislation could have secured. It is true that as yet some of the bishops were mere names, not even living within their dioceses, and that many a glen, here and there a town, had never seen a priest or monk. Yet even to such districts the duty of the Church had been acknowledged, and in the progressive regions, with which the future of the nation lay, it had been to some extent fulfilled. Kings and nobles had recognized their obligations to the Church, and they had also successfully asserted that the Church, although so greatly changed, was their Church, the Church of the Scottish kingdom and people.

At the same time the Church had been bound to the papacy. The office of a diocesan bishop, so unlike the loose and straggling episcopates of the Scotic Church, was dependent upon Rome. Both in idea and in fact, it was part of a hierarchical system. The conception of a Church guided by bishops, each ruling his own diocese without interference, and meeting in council with his brother bishops to consider Church interests, which in the third century had floated in Christian minds, had not taken the shape designed for it by Cyprian and presented with some adequacy in fourth-century Church Councils. Despite occasional resistance to increasing papal claims, the desire for centralization through organized unity under a visible head had steadily prevailed throughout western Christendom.[1] Church arrangements had been so shaped that in every crisis bishops must appeal to an authority higher than their own. It was in this shape that Latin Christianity had gained ground in England. The illustrious missionary Augustine had been guided by the Pastor Pastorum, the Servus Servorum Dei, and one of the first steps in the English mission had been to institute an archbishopric to guide bishops and to mediate as it were between them and Rome. But Scotland had no primate, and inevitably, as we have seen, when the very first difficulty occurred, appeal was made direct to Rome. Without the guidance of Rome the Scottish bishops were unable to control the Church as an institution or to guide it at any crisis.

Apart from this, the chief force of the new Church was, in Scotland, that of the monastic Orders, and they were riveted to Rome. To Rome they owed the sanction of their Rule of life, their independence of episcopal control, authority for their special usages and their valuable rewards.[2] The only human obligation that conflicted with their duty to Rome was their obligation to the kings and landlords who enriched them. It was Rome that gave them their standing in Scotland—Rome and their Scottish patrons.

These two institutions, diocesan episcopacy and monasticism, were planted side by side; they operated in the same localities and their relations were entirely vague. If they were to avoid collision and to work together for the same Christian purposes, they must have guidance, and for guidance the best churchmen, whether bishops or monks, looked naturally to Rome. The Romanizing of the Church was doubtless welcomed by pious men and women, who cannot have forecast even vaguely the religious results for Scotland of the four coming centuries of Roman Obedience.

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[1] 'The idea was always gaining a fuller acceptance that the hierarchy is the Church.'—Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vi. 119.

[2] 'Since the time of Hildebrand the popes continually granted new exemptions to the monks.'—Gieseler, iii. 219. The Mendicants were freed from the authority of the bishop and the parish priest, 'in order that they might be in direct subjection to the Pope.'—Sohm, *Grundriss*, p. 120.

CHAPTER XII

THE ROMANIZED CHURCH

1153-1286

Consolidation of the nation—The religious houses—Their civilizing influence—How far educational—Review of the dioceses—Episcopal government—The Bishops' Courts—Appointment of bishops—Parish churches and tithes—Parish revenues assigned to monasteries—Resultant evils—Benefices held by laymen and foreigners.

IN the century that followed the death of David I, the life of the Scottish nation was prosperous and progressive. The boundaries of Scotland were extended, defined and settled without any costly or long-continued war. Under Malcolm the Maiden (1153-65) the united forces of Moray and Argyll maintained a three years' struggle for independence, and there were other symptoms of racial restlessness under southern influences;[1] but the long and vigorous reign of William the Lyon (1165-1214) completed the subjection of the north. His victories over the Earl of Caithness in 1196 and Guthred in 1216 were conclusive. The contest for mastery of the western coast was more protracted, extending into the reigns of Alexander II (1214-49) and Alexander III (1249-86); yet the power of the turbulent Celts of Galloway was broken in 1236, and after the battle of Largs (1266) the western isles became part of the Scottish kingdom. The southern border-line was finally determined at a still earlier date. Malcolm was foiled in an attempt to assert his rights between the Tyne and the Tweed, and in 1163 he tendered homage to the heir to the English throne in respect of his possessions in that region.[2] The Lyon, after nine years of

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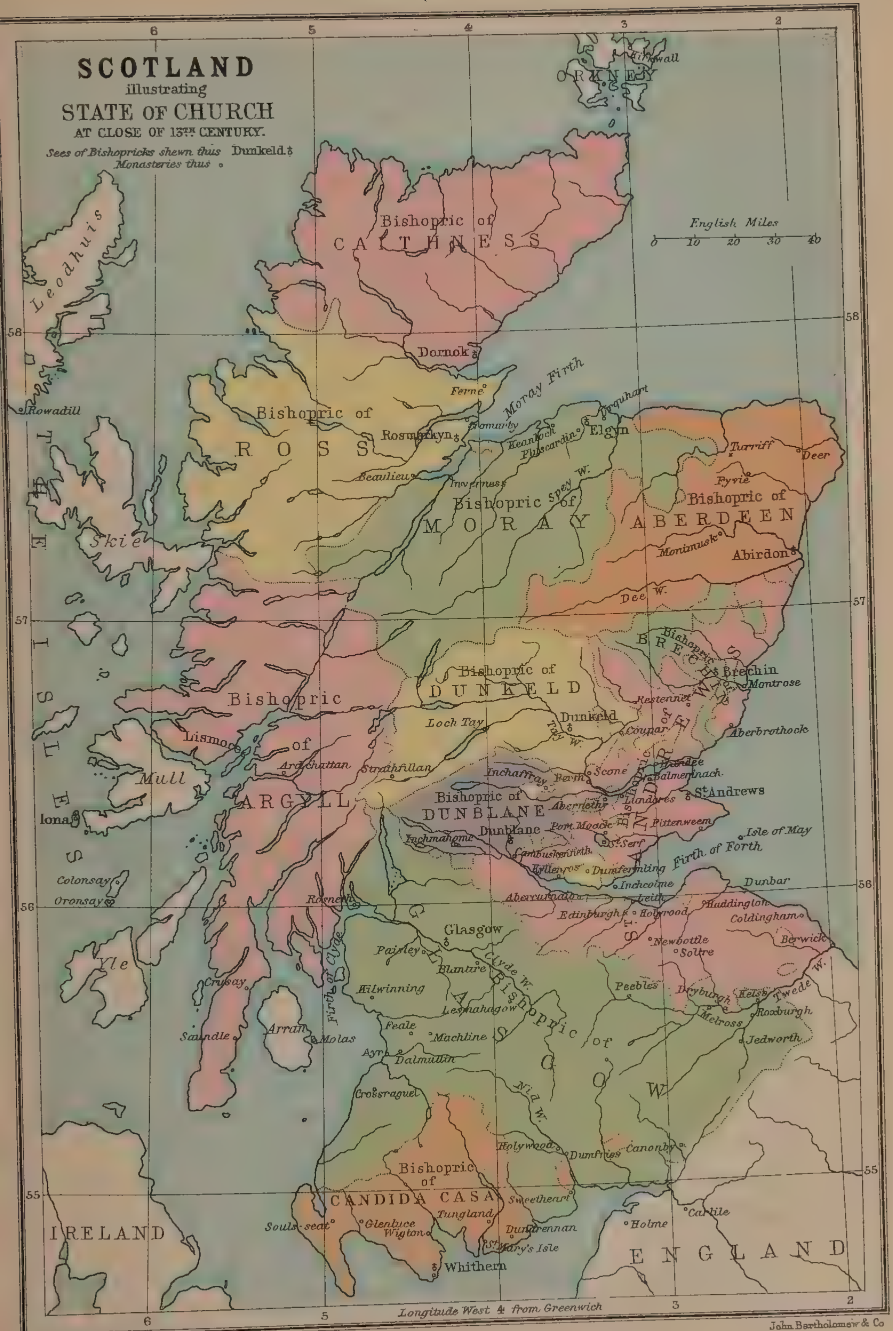
[1] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, i. 99.

[2] In lieu of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, Malcolm received the earldom of Huntingdon.



SCOTLAND
illustrating
STATE OF CHURCH
AT CLOSE OF 13TH CENTURY.

Sees of Bishopricks shewn thus Dunkeld ♁
Monasteries thus ○

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co

anxious watching, was defeated and humbled in an attempt to recover the debated territory, and in 1176 was forced by the Treaty of Falaise to accept the position of an English vassal. A new phase of the relations between England and Scotland opened up with the accession of Richard I, whose crusading zeal led him to seek for the friendship of the Scots. In 1189 the Treaty of Falaise was annulled, and thereafter 'for more than a hundred years there did not occur one serious quarrel between the two countries.' At intervals indeed there were rivalries and contentions which had ecclesiastical bearings. The support lent by the Scots to the English barons in their struggle with their king led to a situation in which Scotland was laid under the papal ban (1216-17), and again, in 1236,[1] Pope Gregory IX was persuaded by Henry III to support an attempt to revive the feudal authority of England as asserted in the Treaty of Falaise. Yet fifteen years later Pope Innocent IV refused to declare that Scotland was feudally subject to England. These varying and progressive movements were, as will be shown in detail, influential and significant in the history of the Scottish Church. Most vital, however, was the recognition that Britain north of the Tweed was a nation, which resented any idea of subjection to England.

Internally national life developed rapidly. There was no such constitutional struggle as distracted and inflamed England.[2] In spite of a sharp conflict between the parties of Durward and Comyn, kings and barons increasingly recognized their common interests and the outlying magnates were overthrown, national policy being centralized and shaped in the king's court. The administration of justice gained system and fairness, the tenure and transference of property became statutory and burghal life with the claims of burgesses took shape, as the haphazard and arbitrary elements of tribal civilization one by one disappeared. Trade developed; architecture improved; facilities for travel increased. It is true that there was little intellectual activity and no sign of literary or artistic independence, but the course of material and social progress was almost uninterrupted. With the unification of the nation, law and peace prevailed.

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[1] Rait gives 1235 as the date; but Gregory's letter quoted by Theiner, p. 33, s indisputable.

[2] Lang, *History of Scotland*, i. 145.

In order to understand the place of religion in this national development and the concurrent development of the Church, we have to consider the various Church agencies which were at work. Far the most important of these were the monastic settlements, which multiplied rapidly, taking possession of almost every available site within the area open to civilization. The abbeys and priories founded under Queen Margaret's sons had exercised great influence, and in the age to which we have come the monastic equipment of Scotland gained some completeness.[1] It will be convenient therefore to exhibit the equipment, including monasteries already named with those founded in this period, and grouping them in accordance with the general rule by which their life was regulated.[2]

AUGUSTINIAN or CANONS REGULAR.—To this Order belonged Scone, St. Andrews, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, Inchcolm, Loch Tay, St. Serf's (Lochleven), Restennet and Isle of May—all founded before 1153. To these were added Inchaffray, St. Mary's Isle in Kirkcudbright, Canonbie, and the Culdee priories of Monymusk and Abernethy.

Premonstratensian.—Dryburgh, Tongland, Whithorn and Soulseat were founded between 1153 and 1286, Holywood near Dumfries and Fearn in Ross having been founded previously.

Trinitarian or *Red Friars.*[3]—Aberdeen, Dunbar, Berwick,

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[1] Of one hundred and ten Pre-Reformation religious houses enumerated by Sir D. O. Hunter-Blair, eighty were founded before 1286.

[2] The earliest extant enumeration, in *Mappa Mundi*, written in the time of King John (1199-1216), is printed in *Scottish Annals*, pp. 327-8. Haddan and Stubbs (II. i. 181-2) give a list of 1272. See also Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*, passim, and Bellesheim, iv. 424 f. The nunneries founded in this period were few and unimportant; Eccles (1155), Coldstream (1166) and Haddington may be mentioned. See page 172 n. 2.

[3] Although the Trinitarians were styled Red Friars, the erm 'friars' usually designates Mendicants.

Cromarty, Brechin, Peebles, Soltre, Dornoch, Failford, Dundee and Scotlandwell.

BENEDICTINE.—The houses which, with the early foundations of Dunfermline, Coldingham and Urquhart, followed this Rule, were the most numerous. They included the following:—

Order of Cluny.—Paisley, Crossraguel, Iona (?).

Cistercian.—Cupar, Sandale in Kintyre, Culross, Glenluce, Balmerinoch, Deer, Sweetheart and Mauchline, which were added to Melrose, Newbottle, Dundrennan and Kinloss.

Order of Tiron.[1]—Arbroath, Lindores, Fyvie in Buchan and perhaps Dull, added to Kelso, Lesmahagow and Kilwinning.

Order of Vallis Caulium[2] (*Carthusian*).—Pluscarden, Beaulieu (Beauly) in Ross and Ardchattan in Lorne.

The MENDICANT or FRIARS' houses planted before 1286 were these:—

Carmelite.—Berwick, Dunbar, Tylilum.

Dominican.—Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Edinburgh (St. Mary's), Elgin, Glasgow, Inverness, Montrose, Perth, St. Andrews, Wigtown.

Franciscan.—Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington, Dumfries, Dundee.

MILITARY ORDERS.—Knights Templars and Hospitallers were settled at Aboyne, Arniston or Balantrodoch, Inchinnan, Maryculter and Torphichen.

With regard to the Mendicants, it is noteworthy that their arrival caused none of the excitement which in England attended the 'Coming of the Friars.' The Dominicans reached Scotland between 1220 and 1230, secured the favour of Alexander II, and showed their distinctive ardour in undertaking difficult Church offices;[1] but the fortunes of the Franciscans were adverse, and the small number of their settlements contrasts with their influence in later centuries. They crossed the Tweed in 1231 and, when Alexander III came to the throne, they too found a royal patron. He not only included Franciscans among his personal attendants, but appointed an annual payment from the exchequer to all Franciscan friaries. Yet they made little way, becoming involved in local contentions both with parish priests and with monks. Their chief obstacle was that they were not allowed to adapt their policy to the special needs of Scotland. For a few years they were recognized as a Scottish Order, but the centralizing jealousy of the Chapter-General prevailed, and they remained in comparative insignificance, being 'governed from England.'[2] It was not by Mendicants but by the Regular monks, whose chief settlements we have named, that at this stage Scottish Christianity was influenced.

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[1] See page 171. According to Skene, Iona was linked to this Order.

[2] This Order, which came from Val de Choux in Burgundy in 1230, was a branch of the Carthusians, who had no other representatives in Scotland in this period. Gregory IX, in sanctioning Beauly priory, termed it not Carthusian but 'of the Order of Vallis Caulium.' The monks dressed as Cistercians. The Carthusians, although they were independent, founded their Rule upon the Benedictine.—*History of Beauly Priory*, pp. 8, 14.

The above list of monasteries is far from being exhaustive. Most of the abbacies and priories had dependencies or 'cells,' some of which gained a good deal of local consequence; but the enumeration will suffice to indicate the strength and historical significance of the movement. A few foundations were in the unsettled north,[3] but all of these were small. In the peaceful and progressive lowlands they flourished and multiplied. Most of them were directed, and to a large extent tenanted, by foreigners. The monks of Dunfermline came from Canterbury; those of Scone from St. Oswald's, Pontefract; those of Melrose and Dundrennan from Rievaulx; the Paisley monks from Wenlock; while no fewer than seven abbeys, including Kelso, Kilwinning and Arbroath, acknowledged the parentage of the French abbey of Tiron. Far from being regarded as intruders, most of them came by royal invitation. Hugh de Moreville was the founder of Dryburgh and Kilwinning, Walter Fitz-Alan founded Paisley and Mauchline, and the chief priories in the south-west were founded by Earls of Galloway. These settlements, as much as those founded by kings, were in the interests of orderly and progressive life, and the monks were welcomed because their labours were beneficent.

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[1] St. Dominic is said to have despatched to Scotland the pioneer of the Scottish Order, Clement, who as bishop of Dunblane showed himself a zealous reformer. To the diocese of Argyll they furnished its first efficient bishops. At Perth they had a 'lector' of divinity in 1274. Yet they were not organized as a Scottish Province till 1487.

[2] The popes granted them some privileges and employed them in the collection of papal revenues. See W. Moir Bryce's valuable volumes on *The Scottish Grey Friars*. A similar treatment of the Scottish Dominicans is a desideratum.

[3] The civilized province of Moray, which included at least six priories, was an exception. 'In the streets of its burghs French, Flemish and Saxon were as commonly heard as Gaelic.'

The liberality which was lavished upon them attests the favour with which they were regarded. While the donations received by the larger settlements had the same variety and extent as the endowments of Dunfermline,[1] ordinary abbeys and priories were similarly privileged and enriched, although on a smaller scale. Lindores, for example, which had twenty-six monks and was otherwise neither above nor below the average, was entitled by papal Bulls and royal charters to appoint its own abbot, to seek for the services of a distant bishop if its own diocesan proved exacting, to celebrate divine offices when Scotland lay under interdict, to afford sepulture to strangers, and to extend asylum to certain classes of criminals. It was exempted from paying tithes upon cattle, sheep and oxen, and upon fallow-land which the monks brought under cultivation. It received from its founder, Earl David, ten churches with their 'chapels, lands, tithes and all other pertinents, free from all service, customs and charges.' To these were added, in the period covered by this chapter, lands and churches in nine different dioceses, several being in Aberdeen and one in Lincoln. Special grants of land and money were received for specified purposes, such as the burning of lights before the great altar of the abbey church and the daily celebration of a musical mass for the souls of the donor and his uncle. As in the case of donations made in the twelfth century, these grants were frequently freed from 'hostings,' *i.e.* obligation to render regular military service to the Crown. In 1266 Lindores secured royal authority for holding its town (*ville*) of New Burgh free from dues and for keeping a market there every Tuesday. The free markets of abbeys and priories were highly prized sources of income as well as agencies for developing the trade of the country. The rise of institutions so equipped, while securing a higher standard of agriculture than that of the barons and other laymen, was an integral part of the general growth of civilization.

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[1] See pages 175 ff. When Arbroath abbey was founded, the king conferred upon it the churches and church revenues of thirty-three parishes.

Not less civilizing in influence were the costly and beautiful buildings of the monasteries. These were neither designed nor executed by Scottish craftsmen, but by guilds or companies of builders who plied their calling throughout Europe in that age. Yet probably the contrast which they presented to the primitive architecture of the Scots increased the reverence which they excited and the general recognition that the Church imparted a new stability and graciousness to social life. The designs of the period include specimens of Norman work, but the best achievements were in the Transition style and in the Early English, which prevailed in the reigns of the two Alexanders. In the finest abbeys, such as Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Holyrood, Kelso and Melrose, both of these styles were employed, for the construction was the work of several generations. They were skilfully blended, and, although special English and continental designs were frequently reproduced, there was free adaptation to the rest of the buildings and to the beautiful sites which were selected. It is doubtful if in any country in Europe monastic life owed more to the fabrics in which monks lived and worshipped.

The educational function discharged by monasteries in this period has been exaggerated by writers of the romantic school. The idea that they were homes of learning and agencies for diffusing literary culture has no foundation, except the hypothesis that they resembled English and continental monasteries of the best class. As a matter of fact, there are only eighteen places in Scotland[1] in which schools or schoolmasters are known to have existed between 1153 and 1286. At least six of these were a direct heritage from the Celtic Church, their teachers and pupils retaining Celtic titles; two were not monastic but cathedral foundations, and two were connected with local churches. Thus there is no proof that more than eight schools were erected by the new Orders, and of the eight only one (Kelso)[2] had much importance. So slender is the evidence that educational duties which had been neglected by the Celtic monks were made prominent by their successors. Stray records of the schools indicate that there was variety in management. When schools connected with local churches were conveyed to abbeys (as schools at Stirling and Perth had been conveyed to Dunfermline[3]), they were, it seems, managed as dependencies. The right to appoint 'masters of the schools of Dundee' was conferred upon the monks of Lindores.[4] After such transferences, the interests of the schools and of the monasteries were not always identical. About 1214 Pope Innocent III had to decide upon a dispute between the prior of St. Andrews and the 'master of the schools of the city,' who was supported by 'the city' in the controversy; and the dispute was settled by an undertaking of the priory to make a fixed payment to the schoolmaster, with the consent of the old Celtic official, the *ferleiginn*.[5] The tangled details of this case show that the monks were far from regarding their scholastic functions as primary. On the other hand, schools like that of Kelso, which were integral parts of the abbey for the training of novices, seem to have been attended sometimes by the children of neighbours, and such schools alone were, strictly, abbey-schools.

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[1] St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Muthil, Ellon, Abernethy, Kirkcudbright, Linlithgow, Perth, Stirling, Ayr, Roxburgh, Dunblane, Dundee, Lanark, Berwick, Kelso, Glasgow and Aberdeen. The first six of these were Celtic and the last two cathedral schools. As early as 1120 the 'scolastici' of St. Andrews took a prominent part in the installation of a bishop.—Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, 279-85. On the whole subject see Joseph Robertson, *Scholastic Offices in the Early Scottish Church*, Spalding Club Misc. v.; Dowden, Introduction to *Chartulary of Lindores*; and Lindsay in *Transactions of Glasgow Archæological Society*, vol. i. Lang's statement that 'the monasteries as a rule had schools' is groundless, but less misleading than his allegation that 'the parish churches built under the sons of Malcolm were centres of education.'—*Hist. of Scotland*, i. 157.

[2] In 1260 a widow lady granted lands to Kelso for the maintenance of her son among 'maiores et digniores scolares.'—*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, 173.

[3] See page 177.

[4] 'Liceat eis scolas eiusdem ville unasquasque voluerit conferre.'—*Liber S. Marie de Lindores*, p. 17. Edgar (*History of Education in Scotland*, p. 81) translates 'conferre' 'plant'; but see *Chart. of Lindores*, lv.

[5] *Regist. Prior. S. Andreae*, p. 317.

As to the character of the education supplied, history has little to say. At Aberdeen 'grammar and logic' were taught in 1256; but the Aberdeenshire schools were not monastic, the dean of the cathedral being Rector, and his appointment lying with the chancellor. That the education given in abbey-schools was similar is a mere surmise which is not borne out by any signs of its results. A growing number of Scots, among whom the highest place belongs to Michael Scotus, made their way to other lands and secured honourable places at foreign seats of learning.[1] Such wanderers no doubt gained their early education in their native land, with the desire for further knowledge, but they did not bear with them any impress of their nationality except their names. Scotland had neither literature nor learning of her own. The monks, when not discharging their sacred offices, were mainly employed in agriculture and in trade.[2]

The only indication of the religious spirit of the monasteries is presented in the personality of Waltheve, 'St. Waltheof,' who was abbot of Melrose from 1148 till 1159. Our knowledge of Waltheve is derived from the writings of the inventive hagiographer, Jocelyn of Furness.[3] According to his narrative, the saint, who was a son of Matilda, queen of Scotland, by her first husband the Earl of Huntingdon, gave himself from boyhood to reading and prayer, and, in order to avoid the temptations of high office, left Scotland to become an Augustinian canon at St. Oswald's near Pontefract. He rose to be prior of Kirkham, and, writes

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[1] Michael Scot, famed as a physician, an astrologer and an Arabic scholar, introduced to the West the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle. He was also a reputed magician, 'practised in every slight of magic wile.'—Dante, *Inferno*, c. xx. Born in the Scottish lowlands, he studied at Paris and lived at the court of Frederick II at Palermo. He died before 1235.

[2] On the Chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood see page 175 n. One Melrose monk, Laurence, is styled by his brethren 'in divinis litteris plurimum eruditus.' —*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 89.

[3] See page 25.

Jocelyn, would have been made archbishop of York but for the refusal of the English king to allow a Scot to hold the office. Presently his religious zeal led him to abandon the Augustinian Rule for the severer discipline of the Cistercians—a step which the Cistercian narrator ascribes to the teaching of an angel. Owing solely to his fame for piety, he was appointed to the abbacy of Melrose, and thereafter, 'on the petition of the people, by the election of the clergy and with the assent of princes,' to the bishopric of St. Andrews. He refused the latter office, saying, 'I have washed my feet from the dust of worldly care: heaven forbid that I should defile them again!' and, when he died, left an aroma of sanctity at Melrose as fragrant as that which St. Cuthbert left at Durham. Although Jocelyn's narrative is permeated by fabulous episodes and unconfirmed by any authority,[1] it may be trusted as a reflection of features of the monastic life which charters and deeds of gift could not be expected to portray. Jocelyn speaks of daily visits made by the abbot to 'the dwellings not only of monks and converts but of the poor and strangers,' describes how, in time of famine, four thousand starving people gathered round Melrose and were fed by a slaughter of herds and a miraculous increase of grain, and, generally, discloses a conception of religion deeply marked by superstition but essentially benevolent. When such a spirit was combined with the promotion of material civilization, monachism must have found unqualified favour, and it is matter for regret that Jocelyn's delineation of Waltheve stands alone.

Turning from monastic enterprise to the episcopal and parochial agencies of the Church, we are faced by an exceedingly irregular development. Although before the close of David's reign the whole of Scotland had been formally divided into dioceses, many of the bishoprics had only a nominal existence. The slow and chequered process by which some of them became realities accounts for that unequal development of religious life which has marked Scotland for the past seven centuries.

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[1] The statements in *Scotichronicon* (vi. 4, 25, 28-34) are taken from Jocelyn's *Life*, which is in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. 1, 248-77.

In the extension of national territory the Church had no share, the added districts not being incorporated ecclesiastically. In ORKNEY, although York still asserted primatial claims,[1] the bishops were Scandinavian in their allegiance. Occasionally they received papal instructions to discharge disciplinary duties on the Scottish mainland,[2] but Orcadians received indulgences and paid dues as Norwegians. The dedication of the cathedral at Kirkwall to a Norse prince (Magnus) attests the situation at the close of the twelfth century. At the battle of Largs the Bishop of Orkney fought on the side of Haco, and his successor headed an embassy sent by the king of Norway to arrange a treaty with Scotland; so distinctly was the Orcadian Church identified with Scandinavian interests.

The Western Islands were included in the diocese of the SUDREYS (Sodor and the Isles, including Man), of which in 1152 Trondhjem became the metropolitan, although here again York, with some papal support, claimed archiepiscopal authority and consecrated a rival bishop.[3] At a later stage the situation became very confused. In 1234 a 'bishop of Sodor' appears among the witnesses of a Dunblane charter, and about the same date is said to be in charge of a 'See of Lismore.' On his own petition to the Pope he was in 1236 relieved of the latter charge, the Bishop of Moray being instructed to appoint a bishop.[4] Other papal documents recognize that the islands were within the jurisdiction of Trondhjem. After the Isle of Man had been annexed to Scotland, the Scottish king attempted to force one of his favourites upon the Manxmen and the Islanders as their bishop, and sent him to Trondhjem for consecration.[5] The official correspondence in this case deals with the Isles as entirely Scandinavian. Meanwhile, however, the see of ARGYLL or LISMORE, mentioned above, had maintained a hazardous existence. It had its seat on the island of Lismore, about eight miles north-west of Oban,[1] and is said to have been founded in 1200 in order to relieve the bishops of Dunkeld of responsibilities which they did not feel competent to discharge. It is not named in papal lists of Scottish bishoprics for many years thereafter. Frequently it was left vacant or entrusted to bishops of other sees; there was no definition of its area.[2] At the most, it represented the belief that there were Argyll islands and coast lands which should have a Scottish diocesan, and it implied little actual supervision.

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[1] See page 167.

[2] *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters*, i. 1; Anderson, *Orkneyinga Saga*, lxxvi. The first indication of a cathedral constitution (1247) is given in a petition from the king of Norway to Rome.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 257.

[3] The bishops were elected by the monks of Furness, and in other respects the diocese was Anglican.

[4] Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, p. 33.

[5] *Chronicles of Stephen*, ii. 569. At the end of the thirteenth century the bishops of Sodor discharged some official duties in Scotland. Curious data about this diocese will be found in *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 271 ff., 377.

GALLOWAY, still called 'Candida Casa,' was outside the administration of the Scottish Church, adhering resolutely to the primacy of York. When in 1177 a papal legate convened the Scottish bishops, the Bishop of Galloway refused to attend the meeting on the ground that he was an English bishop. Although he was suspended in consequence, his successors maintained his contention, receiving their consecration from York and acting episcopally within that province, while taking part in State affairs as Scotsmen.

Even where there was no such ecclesiastical confusion, the episcopate was weak and ineffective in all outlying districts. Of the early bishops of CAITHNESS none ventured to occupy the see until near the close of the twelfth century. In 1200 or 1201 [3] the second known bishop, John, was cruelly mutilated by the Earl of Orkney, and thereafter for thirteen years the see was practically vacant. When a third bishop, Adam, abbot of Melrose, attempted to make the office a reality, he and a monk who accompanied him to his diocese quarrelled with the earl and the natives about tithes, and in 1222 were burnt alive.[4] The king exacted stern vengeance for the outrage and installed in the see Gilbert of Moray, who gained a place in the Scottish Calendar by vigorous churchmanship. Besides erecting a cathedral and constituting a Chapter,[1] 'St. Gilbert' fortified many castles in his diocese, occupying the half-barbarous district in a military rather than a missionary fashion. His successors were engaged in rough strife with the Earls of Sutherland and, when a reconciliation was effected in 1275, the Chapter gave indication of their moral tone by electing to the bishopric a dean who had one illegitimate son, if not two, and was incompetent physically for episcopal duty. The Pope, however, who twice before had had reason to investigate the qualifications of the nominees of the Chapter, declined to confirm the appointment.

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[1] Local traditions point to Muckairn as the first seat of bishops of Argyll.

[2] In 1249 the perils and inconveniences of the locality led the Pope to authorize a transference of the see to 'another more suitable place.'—Theiner, p. 52.

[3] The date indicated by the *Melrose Chronicle* and other authorities is 1196-7.

[4] A 'quieta clamatio terrarum bondorum' was sent to the king.—*Acts of Parl.*, i. 110.

The bishopric of MORAY was about 1215 organized after the pattern of Lincoln. Three years later a charge was forwarded to Rome by the archdeacon and chancellor that the bishop extorted money from ordinands, sold divorces and himself led an immoral life. In 1224 or 1225 the bishops' residence was transferred to Elgin, and at this stage the civilization of the province advanced through the overthrow of the Jarl,[2] the planting of monasteries and the settlement of foreign tradesmen in new burghs. There were indeed collisions between bishop and canons, which in 1260 led to an appeal to the Pope; but the diocese improved with the amelioration of the province and was comparatively free from the disorder of other Highland dioceses.

ROSS had not a regular cathedral till the fourteenth century, although in 1235 an elaborate cathedral constitution received papal sanction. The bishopric was poorly equipped. Four canons held office in 1235, but their incomes were so small that none of them could afford to reside, and the bishop was both canon and prebendary in his own Chapter. At the close of the period with which we are dealing Bishop Robert III was convicted at Rome of having assigned Church possessions illegally to members of his own family.

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[1] St. Gilbert was dean as well as bishop.

[2] The last Norwegian jarl died in 1231, when the earldom of Sutherland was instituted.

The small dioceses of BRECHIN and DUNBLANE took shape slowly. The bishops of Brechin had as their cathedral staff monks who adhered to the Celtic tradition and who were designated Keledei until 1249 or 1250. They handed over the Church interests of the rising town of Dundee to the monks of Lindores and appear in papal papers mainly as persistent claimants for ecclesiastical dues.[1] The see of Dunblane was liberally endowed at the end of the twelfth century by the Earls of Strathearn, who were recognized as its patrons both by popes and by kings, but its administration was flagrantly neglected. When in 1233 a vigorous Dominican monk, Clement,[2] was appointed bishop, he transmitted to Rome a graphic description of the desolation of his diocese. It had been vacant for nearly ten years and neglected for more than a century. Laymen had appropriated the revenues, leaving a pittance sufficient to maintain the bishop for only half the year. There were no canons, and in the roofless cathedral church a solitary country chaplain (*capellanus ruralis*) celebrated the divine offices.[3] The Pope entrusted the case to two neighbouring bishops, instructing them either to provide an income for the see by laying a charge upon those parochial tithes which were held by laymen, or to transfer the see to the priory of Inchaffray. With the help of the commissioners Clement instituted and endowed a Chapter and founded a beautiful cathedral on the banks of the Allan Water. Yet even thus equipped, the bishopric was hampered by the non-residence of officials, three canonries being held by abbots.

The neighbouring see of DUNKELD fared more favourably. Located at the first metropolis of Ecclesia Scoticana, it had some distinction from its traditions. Nominally it included the mainland of Argyll, but practically it was limited by the shifting boundaries of the Norse area. This very vagueness made it an important diocese, and it was assigned repeatedly as a special honour to the king's favourites. At least thrice in this period it had excellent bishops: John the Scot[1] (1183-1203), who won admiration by requesting the Pope to detach the western part of his diocese and entrust it to a bishop who understood the Celtic language; Hugh de Sigillo (1214-28), whose character is certified by his being known as 'the poor man's bishop'; and Geoffrey (1236-49), who enriched the see, organized its Chapter on the Salisbury pattern, and probably introduced Gregorian singing. Geographically the diocese was an irregular one, including churches 'from the western isles to the mouth of the Firth of Forth, from the heart of the Merse to the gates of Brechin'; and the function it discharged seems to have been missionary rather than episcopal.

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[1] The Bishops of Brechin had at this stage special connexions with the see of Durham; they repeatedly granted indulgences to those who visited Durham cathedral.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 176.

[2] On Clement see page 198 n. 1.

[3] Theiner, p. 35.

Among the northern dioceses ABERDEEN was notable for the early completeness of its organization. As early as 1157 papal sanction was secured for the arrangements of the cathedral church,[2] and after the experience of a century these were remodelled (in 1256) on lines which indicate a careful desire for efficiency. The cathedral staff consisted of thirteen canons, each of whom was provided with a house. The superintendence of the city schools by a cathedral official has already been mentioned. The Aberdeen choir boys, although they numbered only four, were famed for their singing, and the Chapter had no doubt begun to collect its excellent library. There were still more important tokens of effectiveness. A voice was given to the 'clergy of the city' in the election of bishops.[3] In 1250 the bishop explicitly forbade his clergy to yield to the exactions of those abbeys which held property in the diocese,[4] and also put forth a claim to ecclesiastical control over all holders of Church property. One of the two collections of diocesan statutes which survive from the thirteenth century was published at Aberdeen; and Aberdeen alone in that century is credited with having had an ascetic bishop (Randulph de Lambley) who visited his diocese on foot.[1]

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[1] See page 205. John's career in churchmanship will be explained below.

[2] The building of the cathedral of St. Machar was not begun till 1366.

[3] Theiner, xcix.

[4] *Chart. of Lindores*, p. 125.

Of the two great southern dioceses, ST. ANDREWS was far the more important. A stately cathedral, begun in 1162 by Bishop Ernold, who brought to his see the ecclesiastical ideas of Kelso where he had been abbot, was carried on as a national undertaking and was not completed for more than a century.[2] The see had two archdeaconries: St. Andrews (including the deaneries of Fife, Fothric, Gowrie, Angus and Mearns) and Lothian (including the deaneries of Linlithgow, Lothian and the Merse). The election of the bishop lay nominally with the priory monks, but their rights and even their wishes were frequently ignored. Sometimes the king appointed a bishop without consulting them at all, once or twice pope and king concurred in cancelling their elections; for the office was the highest in the Church and carried with it increasing influence and wealth. The St. Andrews bishops, who were housed in a strongly fortified castle, styled themselves on their seals 'Bishops of the Scots.' Of ten who were consecrated in this period, four were Chancellors of the kingdom and four others held confidential posts at court.

The bishopric of GLASGOW ranked next St. Andrews in honour and resources and was also regarded as a national dignity. When the foundation of a new cathedral (St. Mungo's) was laid in 1181, the dedication was attended by devout persons from every part of Scotland.[3] As the erection proceeded, offerings were tendered from all quarters. In 1242 an Aberdeen Statute[4] directed that on eight Sundays a collection should be taken in every church for the building of Glasgow cathedral, that on those Sundays no other charitable appeal should be made, and that notice should be given in the vernacular (*vulgariter*) of the indulgences granted to all contributors.[1] To the liberality thus evoked must be ascribed the completion of the beautiful choir in 1258; the date of the erection of the spire is unknown.[2] Like St. Andrews, Glasgow had two archdeaconries, Glasgow and Teviotdale, the latter including not only the vale of the Teviot but Peebles, Nithsdale and Annandale. The Chapter was modelled on the Salisbury pattern with certain adaptations to local necessities, which were put into shape in 1259. How badly the revenues were adjusted is shown by the fact that of twenty-seven churches which in 1170 belonged to the cathedral, no fewer than fifteen were 'mensal,' *i.e.* appropriated for the personal uses of the bishop. Even after the Statutes had been revised, several of the canons drew the full revenues of their office without discharging any of its duties.[3] The view of cathedral posts which was apt to emerge from such a situation is indicated by a charge laid before the Pope in 1219 against Bishop Walter by one of the cathedral clergy, that he had secured the bishopric by bribing the king's chamberlain and promising a large sum of money to the queen.[4]

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[1] The diocese was divided first into three and afterwards into five rural deaneries. Its large and varied financial resources are attested by a papal document of 1157.—*Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, pp. 5, 84.

[2] Although not consecrated till 1318, it was practically completed in 1279.

[3] According to *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 103, the dedication was in 1197.

[4] Joseph Robertson states that the Statute applied to all Scotland (*Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 59); but Dowden shows that this is an assumption (*Medieval Church*, p. 96).

These particulars with regard to the separate dioceses prepare the way for a general view of the episcopacy of the period and its methods. The episcopal and cathedral ideals which prevailed in England were recognized and followed in those parts of the country which had come within the pale of southern civilization. The cathedral staff consisted of canons varying in number, a dean, a precentor, a chancellor and a treasurer; but the relation of the officials to one another and to the bishop was frequently unsettled. Besides the cathedral deans there were rural deans, known as 'deans of Christianity,' who had certain local responsibilities and were grouped under archdeacons or archdeans.[1] Occasionally bishops held district synods, which were attended by abbots, priors, priests and chaplains. Such synods were held in the St. Andrews diocese as early as 1148 and 1150,[2] but we read of no others being held, either there or in any other diocese, for nearly a century thereafter. In 1242 Bishop David de Bernham of St. Andrews, at a synod held at Musselburgh, published a set of rules or Constitutions to correct and guide the local clergy in their ministrations, and twelve years later a similar body of Statutes was issued at Aberdeen. These are the only indications of diocesan authority. On the other hand, the subjection of each church to its bishop was acknowledged by annual payments for the upkeep of the diocesan establishment. Besides a fixed assessment known as the 'synodal,' a varying sum was claimed under the title of 'procuration' to defray the costs incurred by bishops and archdeacons in their visitations. This latter charge, which had become excessive and offensive throughout western Christendom before the Lateran Council of 1179, was in Scotland a frequent cause of complaint and dispute. In 1201 a cardinal legate admonished the Scottish bishops severely for their exactions, and in 1227 the 'procurations' of the Bishop of Glasgow were formally challenged and definitely limited by arbitrators. Ultimately this obligation was commuted for a fixed payment.[3] When the revenues of parish churches were granted to abbeys, 'episcopal dues' were always reserved.

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[1] Robertson, *Statuta*, ii. 25.

[2] Primrose, *Medieval Glasgow*, p. 2 ff.

[3] *Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 171 f.

[4] Other grave charges were made and a papal inquiry was instituted. 'Presumably' (*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 301) the charges were unproven. The papal brief is printed in Theiner, p. 13.

In the dispensation of justice bishops discharged a function of great importance. As landowners, both they and the abbots had the same civil jurisdiction as was granted by the Crown to temporal lords. The extent of this varied, being dependent upon the charters by which it was conveyed.

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[1] In Scottish records 'archdeacon' and 'archdean' are equivalents. The term 'dean' is applied very loosely; we read of deans of Rattray, Muthil, Fogo and Kinghorn, and of a dean of Lennox who transmitted his property to his son. For details as to deaneries see Grub, i. 277; *Medieval Church*, p. 213.

[2] See page 168 n. 2.

[3] The date at which a commutation was arranged was probably before 1275. —*Medieval Church*, p. 120.

Sometimes the king granted additional 'regalities,'[1] although the trial of certain offences—murder, rape, arson and robbery—was always reserved to the Crown.[2] But apart from this territorial jurisdiction bishops claimed a right to deal with all 'spiritual matters' and to exercise discipline over their own clergy. Among spiritual matters were included all pleas which could be regarded as in any sense religious—matrimonial suits, questions of bastardy, dowry and the interpretation of wills, cases of slander and of contracts ratified by oath, besides disputes as to tithes, dues and Church properties. The discipline of the clergy rested upon the idea that in all his conduct a priest was subject only to his ecclesiastical superior and could in no case be summoned to a civil court. Disputes between priests and laymen upon any subject must be settled by episcopal authority. The wide range of law business for which bishops were thus responsible was discharged by bishops' courts, known as Consistories or Courts of Christianity, over each of which a lawyer, who was termed the Official, presided. How soon such courts were instituted in the different dioceses depended necessarily upon the development of the see. In the remote and backward dioceses there are few traces of their existence before the fifteenth century, whereas at St. Andrews and Glasgow they became important in the period with which we are dealing.[3] At a time when civil courts, or 'king's courts,' were unsystematized and unreliable they were a welcome factor in social life. As in the days of St. Augustine's episcopate at Hippo, men preferred spiritual to secular judges and agreed to present to Courts of Christianity pleas of every kind. The Officials were guided by the precedents contained in the Canon Law,[4] which in the middle of the twelfth century was codified by Gratian, and they themselves had been specially trained for their office. There is no reason for thinking that their decisions were biased or corrupt, or for doubting that the Consistories generally promoted the cause of order and peace. At a very early stage, however, disputes arose as to their jurisdiction. In 1208 an Earl of Dunbar, who was charged with appropriating lands belonging to the monks of Kelso, declined to appear before any spiritual court, claiming a title to be judged by the common law of the kingdom.[1] Although the question which he raised was settled by an agreement in the presence of the king, similar disputes became frequent. When civil law developed and national courts of justice were organized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, litigants came to place more reliance upon them than upon spiritual courts and to rebel against the pretensions of the latter, while the civil-court lawyers strove to prevent the appropriation of their business by the Officials. In the thirteenth century, however, only the beginnings of this antagonism can be discerned, and the Courts of Christianity, by their wide range and their efficient administration, increased the resources as well as the prestige of the episcopate.[2]

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[1] Alexander I granted to the Abbot of Scone the right to conduct trials 'by fire and water.'

[2] David I provided that at trials conducted by the Abbot of Dunfermline a royal assessor should be present to see that justice was done.

[3] St. Andrews had an 'Official' for each of its two archdeaconries.

[4] 'Canon Law,' writes Sir W. Phillimore, 'although never authoritative in Scotland, was recognized as a "source."'—*Encyc. Brit., s.v.* 'Canon law.' Yet the arguments presented by F. W. Maitland in support of its unhesitating acceptance in England are even stronger when applied to Scotland.—Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*; Ogle, *Canon Law in the Church*

The tendency of sacred offices founded and endowed by religious liberality to become remunerative occupations in which cupidity and secular ambition are developed has been hurtful to Church life in all ages and lands, and in Scotland it was emphasized by the method in which bishops were appointed. In theory the election lay with the Chapter, which might exercise its right by acclamation (*per viam Sancti Spiritus*), by taking a vote (*per scrutinium*), or by delegating the duty to a commission (*per compromissum*). But two sees had no Chapters, some were loosely organized, and few were capable of independent action. For a valid election the permission of the king and the confirmation of

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of England; Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. li. ff. The scope of the Provincial Satutes will be shown in Chapter XIII.

[1] *Acts of Parl.*, i. 391.

[2] On this subject see Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 180 ff.; *Scottish Legal Antiquities*, pp. 181, 209 ff.; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, pp. 208 ff., 285 ff.

the Pope were essential. In this period popes rarely refused confirmation except on the ground of unfitness for office; but it was quite usual for kings, when permitting an election, to name the person to be elected, and this not only in the case of St. Andrews. There was no doubt a disposition to take local feeling into account. Now and then, as in the days of St. Cyprian, a bishop whose title was challenged replied that he had 'the assent of the clergy' with the concurrence of *sacra plebs*. We read of a bishop of Glasgow being elected in 1174 by the clergy, 'the people requesting,' and of an election to the bishopric of Candida Casa in 1235, when the nominee of the 'clergy and people of the diocese' was preferred to the nominee of the Chapter. Yet in both of those cases and in others similar the election was secured only by royal support. Such claims were, in truth, but wandering echoes of primitive ideals. As a rule the bishop was the king's man. Elections were frequently held at Court,[1] not at the seat of the diocese, and sometimes, when the electing body had exercised its rights, the king interposed with a veto and recommended another candidate to the pope. In the reign of William the Lyon, which in this respect was the most important reign of the period, no fewer than ten bishops elected are known to have been the king's clerks or kinsfolk, and the number was probably much larger.[2] The royal nominees were often laymen, and no haste was shown in ordaining them after their election. Chancellor Roger, who was elected bishop of St. Andrews in 1189, was not ordained to the priesthood for nine years and, a little later, Florence of Holland, one of the king's nephews, remained bishop-elect at Glasgow for five years and was then allowed by the Pope to resign. Both men enjoyed the episcopal incomes from the date of their election, and there is no trace of any arrangement for the interim administration of the dioceses.

Beside these irregularities must be placed the notorious fact that a considerable proportion of the bishops were of illegitimate birth. According to canon law, only men who had been born in wedlock were qualified for ordination, and for the removal of the disqualification arising from the stain of birth (*defectus natalium*) a papal dispensation was required. The frequency with which such dispensations were granted may be inferred from the fact that five were issued within eighteen years (1236-54) of which the records have been searched.[1] While many of the bishops thus dispensed were the sons of priests, nearly as many were the illegitimate sons of royal and baronial families.

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[1] So in England it was for a time usual to hold elections in the chapel-royal.
[2] *Medieval Church*, p. 49.

Men so appointed were as much concerned in the affairs of the court as in the administration of their dioceses. They were better educated than the ordinary barons, and those of them who showed ability became influential in the councils of their sovereigns and in national life generally.[2] Of the king's 'court' or retinue, which accompanied him from place to place, they were usually the most prominent members. It was much easier for them than for earls and barons to be absent from their homes, and even when the king held 'full courts' they constituted about a quarter of the membership.[3] When kings and popes were at variance, the bishops as a rule sided with the former, and sometimes under royal guidance ventured upon direct disobedience to papal injunctions. This secular and national aspect of the episcopal office, which is familiar to students of English, German and Scandinavian history, was prominent in Scotland before the diocesan work of bishops was shaped, and greatly diverted their attention from their religious functions. The only stage in a bishop's career at which he was more dependent upon the pope than upon the king was immediately after his election, when papal confirmation was requisite. This involved a costly journey to Rome or to the temporary residence of the Pope. Apart from the expense of travel, the fees payable to the Curia were high, and candidates were often in financial perplexity, for Church laws forbade them to burden episcopal property with debt. Yet the popes were indulgent in granting dispensation from the law. In 1254, for example, the bishop-elect of St. Andrews was allowed to bond his Church property heavily in order to expedite his confirmation.[1] The financial difficulty, it should be noted, was not increased by rivalry with foreign candidates. There are few traces in this period of the nomination of papal favourites to Scottish sees. In view of the prevalence of the practice elsewhere and the lavish bestowal of other posts in the Scottish Church upon Englishmen, Frenchmen and Italians, it is impossible to ascribe this to a self-denying ordinance. The episcopal office in Scotland had little charm for foreigners. Its rights and even its revenues had to be maintained by a struggle which only Scotsmen were competent to face.[2]

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[1] Theiner, pp. 33, 45, 47; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 241 (Orkney), 244.

[2] Hume Brown, i. 128.

[3] At a national council held in 1284 to determine the succession to the throne, eleven out of forty-nine councillors were churchmen.

The difficulties of episcopal government were increased if not created by the tentative conditions and the irregular character of the parochial equipment. The erection of district or parish churches was unsystematic, being regulated partly by the liberality of kings and barons, partly by the condition of the several dioceses, partly by the energy of individual bishops. Of two hundred and thirty-four places of worship included in the diocese of St. Andrews at the middle of the thirteenth century, one hundred and forty were consecrated by a single bishop, David de Bernham, within nine years. Although many of these may have been used for worship before they were consecrated, the numbers indicate the sporadic course of church-building.[3] Church Statutes of about the same date ordain that 'in accordance with the resources of parishioners churches shall be built of stone by the parishioners themselves and their chancels by the rectors,' and that each church shall have a manse (*mansio*) suitable for the accommodation of the bishop or archdeacon on the occasion of his visitations.[1] The fabrics erected in compliance with such injunctions received none of the attention and evoked none of the pious liberality which were bestowed upon cathedrals and abbeys. There is no reason for thinking that they were beautiful, and it is certain that they were often desecrated. 'A nastiness was tolerated which would have been disgraceful in the case of profane buildings.' Church furnishings were neglected; holy water was taken from the baptismal font 'for other uses'; unclean animals were allowed to couch in churchyards. The fact that the language in which such practices were prohibited was borrowed from English codes, only indicates that a disregard of the sanctities of worship was not distinctive of Scotland.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 319: the bond was '500 pounds new sterling.'

[2] Such eminent Frenchmen as Malvoisin, bishop of Glasgow, were no exceptions to this rule. He had won his bishopric by serving as king's clerk, and in the year of his election (1199) was made Chancellor of the kingdom. The number of Englishmen who held bishoprics was in this period small. Alan, bishop of Caithness 1282-91, and Robert, bishop of Dunblane 1259-83, may be mentioned. In 1259 the Pope appointed an Englishman, one of his chaplains, to the bishopric of Glasgow, but in 1267 he had to resign owing to disagreement with his canons. Several similar failures are on record. The southerners who had identified themselves with Scottish interests were not 'English' in any important sense.

[3] Lockhart, *The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 42 ff. *Medieval Church*, p. 139.

The endowment of parish churches with lands, which had begun early in the twelfth century,[2] became a general practice as the century advanced. The usual extent of land was a ploughgate (*carrucata*), 104 acres Scots, which were equal to 120 English acres. Tithes of all produce—'of all things which are renewed (*innovantur*) from year to year'—were claimed for the Church, not on the ground of any legislative enactment, but *jure divino*—as an obligation laid upon all men by God.[3] At the request of the Pope, Malcolm the Maiden instructed his civil officials to enforce by penalty the full payment of tithes upon farm produce, and similar injunctions were issued by William the Lyon[4] and Alexander II. It is impossible to say exactly when payment became compulsory. Before 1214 it was certainly so regarded, but no Act of parliament was passed or desired. 'It was enough for the Church that the right had been enunciated by the canonists, and that sovereigns were ready if necessary to assist in enforcing the pious duty.'[1] In certain cases enforcement was undertaken voluntarily by religiously disposed barons who resolved to see that churches had their 'scriptural rights';[2] but the obligation was a vague and shifting one. Sometimes tithes were claimed by bishops 'for their own uses,' and there is one recorded case in which a bishop exacted double tithes. In another case a pope appeared as claimant to an assessment laid annually upon every household in a diocese, the papal claim superseding the claim of local churches. In the middle of the thirteenth century the words 'parish' and 'parishioner' were used somewhat in their modern sense. Yet this did not imply that parishioners paid tithes to their parish priests. The latter rarely, as we shall see, received more than a third of the tithe, and the parishioners were regarded as discharging their claim if they made payment for any pious purpose to any Church authority.[3]

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[1] Manses were built at the cost of 'parsons' and vicars jointly; but the vicar, who had 'use and advantage' of them, was responsible for the upkeep. —*Statuta*, ii. 11, 12, 13.

[2] See page 168.

[3] *I.e.* by Scripture, as interpreted by Canon Law. In 1161 Pope Alexander III enjoined the people of the diocese of Glasgow to pay to 'the churches in whose diocese they dwelt' in accordance with the admonition of their bishops their whole tithes which are *due by canon law.*—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 17.

[4] William's writ recapitulates a writ which had been issued by David I, *i.e.* before 1153.

Besides the tithes upon produce, tithes were paid upon personal earnings, some items such as fisheries and mills causing special difficulty in assessment. The habit of making payment in specie rather than in kind gradually gained ground, although it was attended with troublesome disputes as to equivalence. Apart from such dues, what were called 'second tithes' were frequently dedicated to the Church by pious persons. They consisted of tenths, or some larger proportion, of special sources of revenue belonging to the donor, such as fines and forfeitures coming to the king in particular courts of justice and the custom-dues belonging to the proprietors of harbours. Second tithes, however, were more frequently given to abbeys and priories than to churches and, in their origin at least, they were entirely voluntary.

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[1] Black, *Parochial Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 313.

[2] The Lord of Carrick, *e.g.*, in 1225 and the Earl of Lennox in 1226.

[3] *Epist. Innocent III*, i. 107; *Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 19. There is no trace in Scotland of the special confusion caused by the plea of the Dominicans and Franciscans that tithes might be paid to any charitable scheme. For a succinct account of the process by which Scotland 'gradually settled into parishes' see *Parochial Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 300 ff.

The offerings of the faithful, although also voluntary, were of course a prime source of revenue for parish churches, and on certain sacred occasions they were practically binding. At Easter, at Christmas, and at the feast of the patron saint of the church, a mass-penny was expected from every adult, or at times from every household; and indeed, on all occasions when priestly services were rendered, an 'altarage' was regarded as natural. This important income was at hazard when private chapels were erected, and the utmost care was taken, in sanctioning such chapels, to guard the interests of the parish priests. Provision was made, for example, that the proprietors of chapels should see that those of their tenants who worshipped habitually in chapels came to church with their offerings three or four times in the year.[1]

The collection of tithes was sometimes difficult, specially in districts where ministrations of religion were infrequent and casual. The case above-mentioned [2] in which a bishop lost his life in seeking for his dues was exceptional; yet in many instances payment was refused, and sometimes territorial magnates upheld the refusal of their tenants. In 1242 and again in 1250 complaints were formulated which showed that throughout Scotland the difficulty was keenly felt, and in 1251 a mandate of Pope Innocent IV expressly states that Scottish barons were preventing the payment of tithes upon hay, pastures and mills.[3]

This difficulty, however, was occasional, and it was insignificant in comparison with the alienation of the revenues of parish churches by those who desired to enrich the monastic and cathedral foundations. The practice of assigning 'churches and their pertinents' to abbeys and priories, which had been initiated by Queen Margaret's sons,[1] prevailed to an extent incalculable in detail but undoubtedly ruinous to the parochial work of the Church in many districts. The descendants of donors seem to have had no hesitation in making such transferences. The Earl Gilbert, *e.g.*, in 1200, made known that he had given 'to God, St. Mary and the canons of Inchaffray abbey . . . in pure and perpetual alms . . . the church of St. Kathan of Aberuthven with all its just pertinents, in tithes, oblations, offerings and lands,' which his father and mother had given 'as an endowment to the parish of Aberuthven.'[2] By this pious deed the parish was definitely deprived of its endowments. So one parish after another was sacrificed to the monasteries. In 1265 four abbeys, Paisley, Kelso, Holyrood and Arbroath, had become the proprietors of the endowments of one hundred and twenty-six parishes. Indeed every religious house in Scotland was provided for in the same fashion.[3]

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[1] *Chart. of Lindores*, lxxii. 69. The phrase 'rights of parish churches' (*iustitia parochialium ecclesiarum*) is first used with regard to the title to burial dues—in a papal Bull dated 1164.—*Regist. Cambuskenneth*, p. 40.

[2] See page 205.

[3] *Regist. Episc. Morav.*, p. 334. In 1198 the Bishop of Caithness prevented his people from paying certain dues to Rome.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 1.

The sanction of the bishop of the diocese concerned was required for these transactions, and bishops as a rule stipulated that the deprived parish should not be neglected; but the stipulations were too vague to be effective. Churches in the immediate neighbourhood of the abbeys to which they were assigned might no doubt be well served by the monks. Yet donors paid no regard to geography in their bequests. Churches in Galloway, for instance, were bequeathed first to Iona, then to Holyrood. Inchaffray abbey had churches in Argyll and on Loch Awe; while the parish revenues of Gask in Perthshire belonged to the monks of Brackley in Northamptonshire, by whom they were transferred to Magdalen College, Oxford. Indeed the cases in which monks ministered personally to parishes were rare. Usually a delegate (*vicarius*) was appointed, and the question of the stipend allowed by the proprietors to the vicar was always critical.[1] The abbeys were not unnaturally desirous that the payment should be small, in order that they might retain as large a proportion of the revenue as possible for their own purposes (*in proprios usus*), which the donors had avowedly in view. In one group of northern parishes of which the financial records have incidentally been preserved, about three-fourths of the tithes were secured by the abbey,[2] one-fourth being assigned to the vicar, and there is no reason for thinking that the proportion was unusual.

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[1] See page 178.

[2] *Charters of Inchaffray*, p. 13. In addition to five churches so donated, the charter assigned to the abbey the tithes of the founder, rents of wheat, meal, cheese etc., and tithes of the founder's profits in his courts of justice.—Innes, *Early Scottish History*, p. 209.

[3] *Medieval Church*, p. 114. The practice had grown. Kelso, when founded in 1120, received no churches; before 1265 it had acquired thirty-seven.

The resultant evils, which became apparent in most parts of western Christendom before the end of the twelfth century, evoked papal admonitions,[3] with injunctions that adequate provision should be made for the maintenance of every parish priest, but the admonitions bore little fruit. The difficulties which arose in Scotland are innumerable. A fair sample is seen in the growing burgh of Dundee, the church of which had been assigned to the abbey of Lindores. In 1219 and 1225 the bishop of the diocese stipulated that the vicar of Dundee should receive from the abbey at least £10 per annum; but twenty years later Pope Gregory IX sanctioned a provision that the vicar should have an adequate proportion (*congrua portio*), leaving the monks as arbiters of adequacy. A keenly contested suit followed, resulting in an episcopal decision that the vicar should receive all the offerings of the faithful and make a fixed payment to the abbey. The vicar, however, appealed against this to the Pope, who seems to have rebuked the bishop. At this point the case lapsed, leaving the dispute between monks and citizens unsettled. An undated Statute of the thirteenth century enacted that in every case vicars must have a respectable maintenance and specified a minimum stipend of ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.). But such enactments failed to check the growing evil. In 1250 the Bishop of Aberdeen formally complained to Rome that the poor allowances made by abbeys to their vicars in his diocese were insufficient for their support. Sometimes abbeys refrained from appointing any vicar, leaving the parish wholly unprovided for; sometimes, in defiance of a papal prohibition, they made bargains with the vicars they appointed. Unfortunately bishops frequently fostered this process, hurtful as it was to their dioceses. In a charter dated 1215-21 Bishop Hugh of Dunkeld, after an unctuous preface, in which he avows that he is a labourer who has been called into the vineyard at the eleventh hour and that his own religion is somewhat faulty, declares that, being bound to foster religion in others and to treat the religious Orders with special honour, he makes over the church of Madderty with all its revenues to the monks of Inchaffray for their special purposes, to be administered according to their own free will, the only conditions being that they are to appoint a priest who shall be responsible to the bishops in spiritual matters and to the monks in temporalites, and that the bishops' rights are to be maintained.[1] This gift received papal sanction, and in 1266 Pope Clement IV granted the monks the furthur privilege that Madderty might be served by one of the Inchaffray canons, in order that the whole revenue of the parish might be at the disposal of the abbey.[2] The same bishop a few years earlier set the abbey of Cambuskenneth free from the obligation to appoint a vicar to the parish of Alva, on the ground that the abbey was impoverished.[3] Even David de Bernham allowed the appropriation of church endowments for abbey building purposes, showing his appreciation of the danger involved by urging that the churches should not be left without resident priests.[4] The claims of religious houses manifestly overrode the religious interests of parishioners.[5]

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[1] The title 'rector' was reserved for the holder of a benefice who possessed the whole of the endowment of the parish and all other rights. Frequently he was unordained and non-resident.

[2] *Chart. of Lindores*, xlvii.

[3] From Popes Alexander III and Innocent III. The former rebuked the monasteries of York for cutting down the incomes of the priests who served as their vicars.—*Decretal III*, v. 10.

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[1] *Charters of Inchaffray*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[3] *Regist. Cambuskenneth*, p. 24.

[4] *Register of Dryburgh*, pp. 27, 28; *Liber de Calchou*, i. 128.

[5] 'The goodly framework of a parochial establishment was shipwrecked when scarcely formed.'—Innes, *Early Scottish History*, p. 17.

Still harder was the case of parishes whose Church revenues passed into the hands of laymen. The secularization of Church property, which had begun in the times of the Keledei, seems to have been checked in the twelfth century, probably through the exertions of the earliest diocesan bishops, supported by kings and nobles who favoured all Church interests. But in the thirteenth century it was resumed and advanced rapidly. In 1242 the bishops in council protested against it vehemently. Between 1248 and 1274 it was prohibited by five papal Bulls,[1] but the prohibitions only served to increase the sense of wrong, since they were frustrated with the sanction of the highest Church authorities. Laymen or rather lay-children were frequently appointed rectors of parishes, and although Statutes directed that rectors should be ordained as soon as possible they also provided for the discharge of a rector's duty by a vicar. The Curia led the way in transgressing its own excellent rules. In 1254, for example, a certain Nicholas, who held the two offices of dean of Moray and vicar of Tarves in Aberdeenshire, was allowed by papal dispensation to defer his ordination for five years, during which time he was to give himself to the study of theology.[2] With such sanctioned transgressors must be ranked those hereditary priests whom Pope Urban III (1185-7) recognized as holding clerical office in the Glasgow diocese in violation of the law of celibacy. Such men, the Pope said, might, if they were honourable and had been long in possession, be allowed to retain their benefices.[3] So in 1251 Pope Innocent IV complained that married clergymen (*clerici uxorati*) who had delayed their ordination were being deprived of their privileges.[4] The frequency with which such irregularities received papal or episcopal sanction cannot be determined, but there is no room for doubting that they were common; nor is it even plausible to urge that usages which were definitely sanctioned by popes and bishops a century and a half after the disappearance of the Celtic Church, were 'relics of Celticism.'

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[1] The text of the Bulls is preserved in Lord Kinnoull's collection. One of them, a 'mandate,' dated between 1248 and 1253, describes the alienation as 'quiddam novum et in regno Scotiae a retro temporibus inauditum.'—*Statuta*, ii. 242; Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 212 n.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 295. Dowden holds that in Scotland so-called 'parsons' were sometimes laymen.—*Medieval Church*, p. 128.

[3] *Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 59. 'Sub dissimulatione' were the Pope's words: the bishop, in Dowden's phrase, was to 'wink at the violation of law.'—*Medieval Church*, p. 315.

[4] *Statuta*, p. 244. Probably clerics in minor orders are intended (Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 215), but they were under ecclesiastical protection and enjoyed clerical exemptions (*beneficia immunitatis*).

How soon the holding of several parishes by the same 'rector' became a crying evil is to some extent a matter of surmise. In 1271 William Wishart, then archdeacon of St. Andrews and king's Chancellor, was rector or prebendary of twenty-two churches,[1] and a few instances might be cited in which two or three rectorships were held by a single cathedral official; but the instances are not numerous enough to justify generalization. There is no room, however, for such reserve with regard to the custom of assigning Church offices with their revenues to absentee foreigners, a custom for which of course the papacy was entirely responsible. The bishoprics, as has been indicated,[2] had some immunity from such treatment, and Scotland had far fewer tempting benefices than England. Yet Scottish Church resources, such as they were, were drained by frequent demands that lucrative places should be reserved for the favourites of popes. In 1248 four out of fourteen offices in Glasgow cathedral were held by Italians. In the same year the Bishop of St. Andrews was enjoined to appoint a 'canon and citizen of Florence' to a parish in his diocese, while the Bishop of Moray was called to make similar provision for 'a Roman citizen.' Within eighteen months of that claim 'Gerard of Rome' was authorized to add the living of Kirkandrew to his 'charge' of Renfrew and his canonry of Glasgow, and an edict was published regulating the proportion of stipend to be paid to the Church by Italian priests holding Scottish benefices. In 1253 an archdeacon of Coventry, who held various preferments in England and Ireland, was allowed to be parish priest of Largs in Ayrshire.[3] These instances, all of which occurred in the reign of a single pope, 'the last great pope of the Middle Ages belonging to the school of Innocent III,'[1] suffice to show that the religious welfare of Scotland was frequently subordinated to the financial interests of the papal system as interpreted at Rome.

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[1] *Scotichronicon*, x. 28.

[2] See page 216.

[3] See *C.P.R.*, entries for 1246, 1247, 1248 and *Letters*, i. 290. The reason assigned for the appointment of Gerard of Rome is that his uncle had been penitentiary to the Pope.

It has been necessary to indicate with some detail the character of the Church system which was in possession of Scotland, in order to remove two misconceptions for which writers of opposing schools are responsible. On the one hand, apologists for the Roman Church have represented monasticism, episcopacy and parochial ministrations as harmonious and co-operating agencies of a beneficent system, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries deteriorated and collided through secular and political influences; and, on the other hand, assailants of the papacy have ascribed the deterioration and collision chiefly to wilful and ambitious priestcraft and to the deliberate misgovernment of popes. Neither of those ideas rests upon history. From the first the fabric of the Roman Church in Scotland was faulty and unstable.[2] Its administration had no consistency. Its vital forces were at variance with one another. Monasticism, which was undoubtedly its chief strength, flourished at the expense of the ministrations of religion to the people; while the bishops had not the power, even when they had the desire, to guard the flocks of which they were nominally overseers. At the very date when noble abbeys were rising within the diocese of Glasgow, and the fine crypt of St. Mungo was being zealously prepared for consecration, a complaint was lodged with Pope Urban III that children in that diocese frequently died without baptism and adults without the ministration of a priest;[3] and papal intervention, as next chapter will show, was absolutely impossible. The Aberdeen Statutes recount with suitable indignation how

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[1] Innocent IV.—Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, v. 306.

[2] In a Bull of 1159 Pope Alexander III recognizes that the Scottish Church stands in need of 'reformation.'—Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 233.

[3] In 1185-7.—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 61.

'sacraments were sold'—how priests refused to minister the eucharist unless parishioners first laid offerings on the altar. Yet how were priests to live, when their stipends were held by monasteries or by citizens of Rome and Florence? The system was at least as blameworthy as the men.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH AS NATIONAL

1153-1286 (*continued*)

The Treaty of Falaise—Renewed English claims—Collision between king and pope—The 'special daughter of Rome'—The limit to her obedience—The Provincial Council—Its Statutes—Its weakness—Frequency and cost of appeals to Rome—The religion of the times—The morality of priests—A last struggle on Iona.

DURING the period presented in last chapter the Church had a distinctive history, with several episodes of permanent consequence. The very fact that her agencies were at variance with one another and her administration lacked unity involved her in national affairs and led her to assert her independence, not as a religious principle but as a phase of patriotism.

Under Malcolm the Maiden the struggle for independence took various shapes, determined mainly by the changing attitude of the papacy. In 1155 Pope Adrian IV wrote to the Scottish bishops[1] insisting that they must obey the Archbishop of York as their metropolitan—a natural action on the part of a pope who was himself an Englishman. His successor, Pope Alexander III, showed a different mood. In 1159, in response to a request from the Scottish king, he appointed the Bishop of Moray as his legate to settle a difficulty which arose in filling the see of St. Andrews,[2] and in 1164 he consecrated a bishop of Glasgow (Engelram) in spite of the protests of Roger, archbishop of York, a keen and capable champion of English interests.[1] The crisis of the struggle was reached under William the Lyon. After the humiliating Treaty of Falaise, the Scottish bishops and abbots were required to join the Scottish earls and barons in swearing fealty to the English king as their liege lord, and specially to declare that the Church of Scotland was subject to the Church of England. They framed the latter declaration dexterously, merely conceding to the Church of England 'such authority over the Church of Scotland as she ought to have,' and the oath seems to have been taken by only two bishops and two abbots. When in 1176 a Council was held at Northampton under a papal legate,[2] six Scottish bishops who were present were called by Henry II to acknowledge 'that subjection to England which the Treaty of Falaise secured.' They replied that Scottish bishops had never been subject to the Church of England, and that the subjection which they 'ought to' make was—none. When Archbishop Roger contradicted this and alleged that the bishops of Glasgow and certain other sees could be proved by documents which he had in his hands to be suffragans of York, Jocelyn of Glasgow responded that his see was exempt from all subjection, being 'the special daughter of the Roman Church.'[3] At this point, fortunately for the Scots, Canterbury and York disagreed and opened up the old argument as to their respective rights in North Britain. The Scottish bishops managed to withdraw from the Council without yielding the subjection claimed, and sent a private despatch to the Pope requesting him to 'receive them into his own hand and protect them' against the English Church.[1] Another papal legate then appeared on the scene and held a meeting with the Scottish clergy in Edinburgh; but he was under pledge to Henry II and gave offence in Scotland by his arrogance and rapacity.[2] More welcome was a brief addressed by the Pope to the bishops, expressing his deep sympathy, enjoining them 'not to obey any metropolitan but the Roman Pontiff,' and laying down the maxim that it 'belongs not to any king or prince to pass ordinances about Churches or about ecclesiastical persons.'[3] Two other legatine visitations of Scotland followed rapidly, and, although neither decided anything important, it is noteworthy that the purpose of one of them was to summon representatives to the Third Lateran Council (1179). At least two bishops journeyed from Scotland to that Council, where their scanty retinues seem to have awakened contempt.[4] Yet their presence indicated the significant fact that Scotland was now recognized by Rome as a nation with a Church of its own.

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[1] Joseph Robertson takes no notice of this letter, which is not found in the York Register nor in the surviving Scottish chartularies. It is in the Cottonian MS. and is accepted by Wilkins, Haddan and Stubbs, etc.

[2] The Scottish king had sent his chamberlain to Rome with the Bishop of Moray to complain of the intrusions of York.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 145.

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[1] The circumstances are indistinct, the Chronicles of Hoveden and Melrose differing. Roger summoned the Scottish bishops to Norham. They refused to attend, although sending delegates to watch their interests. The essential matter is that they appealed against York to Rome and that their appeal was successful.—See *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 84 ff.; Grub, i. 287; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 35, 36.

[2] So say Lord Hailes, J. Robertson and Haddan and Stubbs. The chroniclers do not mention the legate, and Lawrie thinks that he had nothing to do with the meeting.—*Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 211.

[3] Hoveden, ii. 92. The designation 'special daughter' became, as we shall see, exceedingly significant. Pope Alexander III had in 1164 applied it to Glasgow in a general way, and again in 1165 to the 'church' at Kelso when granting the abbot right to wear a mitre.—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 19; *Liber de Calchou*, p. 359.

Before a year passed, however, a storm arose. In 1180 John the Scot,[5] an Englishman educated at Oxford and Paris, who had been elected by the priory of St. Andrews to the bishopric of that see, appeared at Rome with an appeal which reflected in some of its bearings the memorable claims of Thomas Becket (1162-70). King William, when informed of the election, had sworn by the arm of St. James that John should never be bishop and had secured the consecration of his own chaplain, Hugh. The Pope immediately wrote a threatening letter to the king and despatched a delegate to investigate the case in concert with the Archbishop of York,[1] whose responsibilities in Scotland he recognized so far. He also requested Henry II of England to compel William to acknowledge John as bishop. The delegate, at a Church Council held at Holyrood, deposed Hugh and confirmed the election of John, who was thereupon consecrated by the Scottish bishops. Hugh, however, carried off the episcopal staff and ring and made his way to Rome, while the king banished both John and his uncle, who was Bishop of Aberdeen. Hugh was excommunicated and Scotland was laid under interdict by Archbishop Roger in the exercise of powers with which the Pope had entrusted him. To the Scottish bishops the Pope wrote that, if their king refused to yield, they must obey God rather than man; but neither they nor the king showed any sign of yielding. John betook himself to the king of England who was at the time in Normandy, and William followed to maintain his cause.[2] After negotiation the two kings in 1181 arranged a compromise, according to which John should receive, in lieu of St. Andrews, any bishopric he might select, the chancellorship of the kingdom and a sum of money. John was reputed to be a saintly man, and it gives a notion of the religious standard of the times that he gladly assented to this bargain.[3] The Pope, however, declined to sanction it and the combatants proceeded to extremities. John excommunicated the adherents of the king; the king responded by banishing those of the clergy who showed an inclination to accept the Pope's decision; and, finally, by papal mandate the king himself was excommunicated and Scotland was laid under interdict.

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[1] Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 111.

[2] A papal letter preserved in the York archives represents the Scottish king as having begged the Pope to affirm the subjection of the Scottish bishops to York. Such a request would have been at variance with the policy of William, and the authenticity of the letter is challenged by Bellesheim. Hunter-Blair suggests that the English may have extorted it by force, and Lawrie accepts the suggestion.—Bellesheim, i. 320; Raine, *York*, iii. 83-4; *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 212.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 245-6.

[4] 'One came with a horse only, the other on foot with a single companion.'—Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, xxix. It is interesting that Scotsmen so poorly equipped were required to take oath that in passing through England they would do no damage to king or kingdom.—Hoveden, ii. 171. A similar oath was imposed upon Cardinal Vivian, a papal legate, in 1176.—*Gesta Henrici II*, i. 117-18.

[5] See page 208.

At this point the course of events was suddenly altered. Pope Alexander and Archbishop Roger died, and the new pope, Lucius III, freed Scotland from the interdict and William from excommunication, favouring the king with the gift of a golden rose. Two delegates to whom he referred the St. Andrews dispute fell back upon a compromise similar to that previously proposed:[1] but the pious John now refused to tolerate the idea that his rival Hugh should ever be bishop of St. Andrews, and in 1183 the two candidates appeared before the Pope at Velletri. After hearing the case before the College of Cardinals, Lucius definitely gave the king his way, appointing Hugh to St. Andrews and John to Dunkeld. Yet the attempt at pacification failed.[2] In 1186 the irreconcilable rivals received a hearing at Rome before another pope, Urban III, who seems to have taken another view of the situation. He called for fuller evidence, to be submitted at a second hearing, and at the same time, being doubtful of Hugh's good faith, wrote to the king that there must be no molestation of John or his supporters and entrusted the Bishop of Glasgow with power to impose upon Hugh, if necessary, extreme ecclesiastical penalties. The expected necessity arose. Hugh, having neglected the summons to return to Rome, was suspended from office and excommunicated, St. Andrews being left for two years without a bishop.

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[1] The chroniclers differ in the functions they assign to the legate (Alexis or Alexius) and the Archbishop of York. The narrative in *Gesta Henrici II* (i. 243-6) is the clearest. The Archbishop received legatine powers in Scotland, but his jurisdiction as primate was not recognized.—*Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 228 ff.; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 251 ff.

[2] The English chronicler says that he was summoned by a mandate: the Melrose chronicler says that he betook himself (*se contulit*).

[3] He alleged that his motive was a desire to gain or keep 'the love of his lord, the king of Scotland.'—Hoveden, ii. 259.

It fell to Pope Clement III to bring the dreary and disastrous contest to a close. Clement was the pope who managed by an ignoble compact with the Roman citizens to restore the papacy, after exile, to the sacred city, and his dealings with Scotland were in keeping with his domestic policy.[3] His proceedings showed a weakness which would be incredible if it were not attested by undisputed documents.[4] In February 1188 he entrusted the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Abbot of Melrose and the Prior of Coldingham with the duty of superintending an election to St. Andrews, advising them to secure, if possible, the election of John. To King William he wrote at the same time urging him to accept John as bishop. He wrote to Henry II calling him to admonish and 'if necessary to compel' his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of Scotland, to permit John to possess the see of St. Andrews. He instructed a selected group of Scottish bishops and abbots to wait upon William and warn him against 'spurning the Roman Church' by refusing a bishop whom three popes had confirmed in office, to lay the king under interdict if he refused to comply and to destroy the very altars and chalices with which the rebel Hugh had ministered. Finally,[1] he instructed the clergy of St. Andrews to accept John humbly and devoutly as their bishop within fifteen days under penalty of excommunication.

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[1] The details are unimportant, as the terms of the compromise were not accepted. The documents are quoted in *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 246 ff.

[2] In 1185 the English king summoned the Scottish king and his council to London to arrange a contribution for the defence of the Holy Land.—*Gesta Henrici II*, i. 336.

[3] See Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, iv. 616 ff.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 350-3, 360 etc.; *Gesta Henrici II*, ii. 58-64; *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 273 ff.; *Scottish Annals*, p. 298 etc.

By this array of formidable pronouncements the Scottish king was unmoved. He yielded so far as to allow John to retain the bishopric of Dunkeld with other sources of revenue which he possessed, but this was under pressure, say the chroniclers, from his own subjects, and on condition that John would abandon his claim to St. Andrews. John, 'although fortified with documents of the Lord Pope appointing him to St. Andrews, yet obeyed the will of the king in all things.' No further heed was paid by any one to the papal monitions and threatenings. When the king's favourite, Hugh, died[2] (August 1188), he proceeded, in defiance of the instructions of the Pope, to appoint his own Chancellor and nephew, Roger, who was not in priest's orders, to the St. Andrews vacancy. Nine years later Roger was ordained and consecrated. There is no record of the withdrawal of the papal edicts. They seem simply to have lapsed.

In the midst of the contention, on March 13, 1188, there emerged a papal Bull, known as *Cum universi*, which finally emancipated the Scottish Church from subjection to England. The Bull is so important and explicit that the enacting clauses of it must be quoted :—

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[1] This injunction is dated in the margin '16th January' but the true date must be February.—*Scottish Annals*, p. 303; *Annals of Malcolm and William*, pp. 274-7.

[2] Hugh had journeyed to Rome and received absolution, but without surrendering St. Andrews. He died at Rome of malaria.

> 'Wherefore, dearest son in Christ, considering the reverence and devotion which we know that thou hast had from times long past towards the Roman Church, we have concluded to decree that the Scottish Church (*Scotticana ecclesia*) ought to be subject, without any mediator, to the Apostolic See, whose special daughter[1] she is: wherein these Episcopal Sees are recognized—the churches of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness. . . . Let no one pronounce a sentence of interdict or excommunication against the kingdom of Scotland except the Roman pontifex or a *legatus ab ipsius latere*: if one be pronounced, we declare it to be invalid. We add that in future no one who is not of the kingdom of Scotland shall be permitted to discharge the office of legate therein, except one whom the Apostolic See may appoint specially from its own staff. We forbid, moreover, that controversies which arise in that kingdom about its possessions be taken to the examination of arbiters placed outside the kingdom, unless appeal be made to the Roman Church.'[2]

This Bull was confirmed by the three next popes—by Celestine III in 1192, by Innocent III in 1200[3] and by Honorius III in 1218. It was final as regards any formal claim of the English archbishops to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Scotland. Yet there were indirect attempts to assert English authority, on the plea that Scotland owed feudal allegiance to the English Crown and that on that footing Scottish bishops were the liegemen of the king of England. All such attempts were closely watched and vigorously resisted, even when the resistance involved disobedience to the papacy, which wavered sometimes in its treatment of its 'special daughter.'[4] Thus in 1221 Alexander II applied in vain to the Pope for coronation by a legate,[5] the refusal being grounded on the fact that the favour could not be granted without the permission of the English king and the English bishops. The request was repeated in 1233, but was again refused at the instance of Henry III and the Archbishop of York. On the accession of Alexander III Henry urged the Pope to refuse consecration altogether, until the feudal authority of England should be recognized: but the Scottish bishops declined to wait for papal sanction and carried through the coronation at Scone. It is significant that at the solemnity the languages employed were Latin, French and Gaelic; so emphatic was the repudiation of English influence. The same attitude was shown in matters of Church administration. The Scots repeatedly declined to listen to papal legates who had been commissioned to visit England, as though their commission to England cancelled their authority to deal with Scotland. Matthew of Paris records that when, in 1237, a legate, Cardinal Otto, after settling some political disputes at York, proposed to enter Scotland in order to deal with ecclesiastical matters,[1] the king of Scotland informed him that in Scotland they required no legates and that all went well in the land without any such help. He warned the legate that in Scotland 'dwelt many untamed and wild men thirsting for human blood,' whom he, their own king, could not control; whereupon the legate's desire to enter Scotland was modified, and 'he remained with the king of England, who obeyed him in all things.'[2] Two years later the legate was again rebuffed, being assured that 'Christianity flourished in Scotland and the Church did prosperously' without such

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[1] For earlier uses of the phrase 'special daughter' see page 228.

[2] The text is printed in *Statuta*, xxxix., and in Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 273.

[3] So Robertson, *Statuta*, xl. In *Scotichronicon*, viii. 68, the date is '1208.'

[4] In 1217 the Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness and Moray were under papal excommunication for the share they had taken in the wars between Alexander and John of England.

[5] The method of the coronation of the early Scottish kings is uncertain. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in 1217, says that kings of Scotland were not

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crowned. Yet there were religious ceremonies. Ailred of Rievaulx tells that David I was 'constrained by his bishops' to submit to certain ceremonies. William I was raised to the kingdom 'more regio': the same phrase is used of Alexander II. Alexander III was consecrated by the Bishop of St. Andrews and sat upon the royal chair (stone) at Scone. The rites, in which the earls of Fife (Macduff?) gained a traditional place, were primarily national; and the desire for papal sanction was a significant item of growing dependence upon Rome.

[1] He was expressly appointed by the Pope as legate in Scotland.—Theiner, pp. 34-5. Rait (*Making of Scotland*, p. 53) confuses this with a political embassage of 1235.

[2] Matthew Paris, iii. 413. Joseph Robertson holds that this statement is discredited by the chronicler's passionate dislike of the Roman Court.—*Statuta*, lv., lvi.

intervention. Although this time he managed to enter Lothian and to dispose there of some Church matters, collecting moneys from the clergy, he had to flee before he reached the Forth.[1] These incidents are no doubt recorded by biased chroniclers, but the reality of the resistance was shown in 1245, when Pope Innocent IV was constrained to modify the Bull *Cum universi.* According to that Bull it was open to delegates, who had papal authority to deal with appeals, to consider Scottish matters at courts held outside Scotland. Innocent now enacted that such courts, if held in England, might meet at Carlisle or Durham but never at York, lest sanction should seem to be given to the claims of that archbishopric.[2]

Alexander III was as resolute, if not as abrupt, in his antagonism, and indeed deliberately defied Pope Clement IV. In 1266 a cardinal legate, who had been sent to adjust disturbances in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, levied a charge upon the churches and cathedrals of Scotland to defray the expenses of his mission. Alexander, after consulting the clergy, refused payment. The question was taken to Rome and settled by a compromise, but the king declined to allow the legate to enter Scotland.[3] When in 1268 the Scottish bishops were summoned by the legate to attend a Council held in England, they regarded the summons as an insult to the Scottish Church, and although they sent two bishops, an abbot and a prior to watch the proceedings they refused obedience to the canons which were passed.[4] In the same year Pope Clement IV ordered the Scottish clergy to contribute a tenth of their benefices in support of a crusade undertaken by Prince Edward of England. He was met by an abrupt declinature, king and clergy affirming that they would send crusaders, but not through England.

These facts, which must be regarded together, indicate a definite attitude in which there was no wavering. Yet they did not imply a religious difference with Rome, or even restiveness under the prevalence of Roman usages. If the numerous rebellions of highlanders and islanders have no place in these pages, it is because they were separate from all religious interests. There was no sign of reaction towards the ways of the ancient Scottish Church. When, for example, at the coronation of Alexander III there was a desire to emphasize racial independence, no religious official or office was introduced; a highland bard was brought forward to recite the royal pedigree in Gaelic. There was no approach to a general disavowal of papal authority. On the contrary, the habit of appealing to Rome developed, and the influence of the papacy over Church affairs increased steadily. The 'special daughter' of Rome was willing, indeed anxious, to demonstrate her special relationship by sharing as an independent Church in all the affairs of the Church Catholic. Between 1177 and 1221 at least six Church Councils were held in Scotland by legatine authority.[1] One of them, held at Perth in 1212, resolved to support the Crusade which Innocent III had proclaimed, and as the result a large number of people were 'signed with the cross,' although few of the rich and powerful joined in the movement.[2] Three Scottish bishops were present at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the others being represented by proctors, and the Crusade which that Council inaugurated was commended to Scotland by a special legate. In 1240 the large sum of three thousand pounds was 'carried out of Scotland for the needs of the Lord Pope,'[3] and in 1247 the king gave cordial assistance in the collection of a special papal assessment, receiving assurance that the payment did not prejudice the independence of Scotland.[4]

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[1] Matthew Paris, iii. 568; Florence, ii. 233. Some Statutes which the legate promulgated in London were accepted in Scotland.

[2] *Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 155; *Statuta*, lix.

[3] *Scotichronicon*, x. 21, 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, x. 24-5.

The reach and cogency of papal authority were made clear when in 1274 the Council of Lyons imposed a tax of a tenth of all Church revenues during the six following years for the relief of the Holy Land. All the Scottish bishops, except two who had been specially exempted,[1] were present at the Council, and immediately after the meeting an Italian, Benemund or Baiamund, was despatched to Scotland to collect the tax. Benemund met with the clergy at Perth and intimated, not only that payment would be enforced by excommunication, but that the properties of the Church must be revalued, the ancient valuation being much below the real worth (*verus valor*). The clergy protested, and persuaded Benemund by bribes and promises to return to Rome with a petition that the ancient assessment might be accepted and some postponement of payment allowed; but the appeal proved useless and Benemund came back to enforce a new assessment, which under the title of 'Bagimont's Roll' became, and remained till the Reformation, the basis of taxation on all Church property.[2] The submission of the clergy to such unwelcome enactments shows that their claim to be independent of Rome was strictly limited. It rarely, if ever, went beyond a refusal to acquiesce in measures which implied, directly or indirectly, the subjection of the Scottish to the English Church.[3]

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[1] In the castle of Edinburgh, 1177; at Holyrood, 1180; at Perth, 1201 and 1212; at a place unascertained, 1220; at Perth, 1221.

[2] *Scotichronicon*, viii. 78; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 532.

[3] Matthew Paris, iv. 55.

[4] Theiner, pp. 48-9. The assessment has been described as the first levy of Peter's Pence in Scotland; but this is not borne out by the documents. See *Statuta*, lx. Dowden (*Medieval Church*, p. 320) finds traces of Peter's Pence as early as 1184.

Half a century before the date of Benemund's valuation, a step towards the unification of the Church had been taken by the institution of a Provincial Council, which deserves careful consideration. Besides being the only ecclesiastical development of the period, it was the one attempt made, before the end of the fifteenth century, to secure the unity of the Church. It originated in the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council, at which, as we have seen, the Scottish Church was represented. Guided by the administrative genius of Innocent III, that important assemblage, besides its weighty pronouncements upon Transubstantiation, the heresies of the Waldensians and Cathari and the status of Jews in Christian lands, passed many measures of discipline which were urgently required in every part of western Christendom. In particular, it enacted that every year metropolitans should hold Provincial Councils to correct abuses, reform morals and enforce the decisions of General Councils. In Scotland it was impossible to comply with this enactment, there being no metropolitan. The claims of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury had been abrogated by the Bull *Cum universi*, and valid meetings of the clergy could be held only when Rome despatched a legate to preside, or invested some Scottish bishop with legatine powers. This difficulty had been a source of instability and weakness to the Church ever since the erection of bishoprics, and now it could reasonably be urged that Rome must furnish a remedy, if the enactment of the Fourth Lateran was to be operative in Scotland. Neither the terms in which the case was presented nor the date of the petition is known; but the response which was issued in 1225 by the successor of Innocent III makes the cogency of the plea manifest :—

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[1] A Council held at Perth enacted that the Bishops of Dunkeld and Moray should remain in Scotland 'pro statu ecclesiae servando.'—*Scotichronicon*, x. 33.

[2] The valuation, although taken on oath, seems to have been loosely made. No accurate copy survives. The imperfect fragments show that St. Andrews and Glasgow were far the wealthiest dioceses. Caithness had only eight benefices, Argyll ten, Orkney one.—*Statuta*, lxviii.

[3] There was no sign of objection to the consecration of bishops by Italian or French representatives of the popes.

> 'Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brethren, all the bishops of the kingdom of Scotland, greeting and apostolic benediction! Certain of you have lately brought it to our ears that, because you have not an archbishop by whose authority you could observe a Provincial Council, it comes to pass that in the kingdom of Scotland, which is so far distant from the Apostolic See, the statutes of the General Council are neglected and very many enormities (*enormia*) are perpetrated which remain unpunished. Now since Provincial Councils ought not to be omitted, in which diligent handling should be applied, in the fear of God, to the correcting of excesses and the reformation of morals, and in which the canonical rules should be read over and maintained, specially those which have been enacted in the same General Council: We, by Apostolic Letters addressed to you, entrust you with the observance of a Provincial Council by our authority, since we know that you have not a metropolitan.'[1]

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[1] *Statuta*, ii. 3.

It has been suggested by some writers that the 'enormities' here referred to may have been certain remnants of Celtic Christianity; but no such remnants existed, except stray 'ferleiginn' or 'scologs' and the dwindling if stubborn Culdees of St. Andrews, and the foregoing pages have disclosed irregularities in the Romanized Church which might well be described as 'enormia.' It will be noted that the Scots did not apply for an archbishop, although at an earlier stage (in 1125) they had asked that the see of St. Andrews should be made archiepiscopal. While the desire for a basis of resistance to English metropolitans was strong, the idea of the equality of bishops had gained ground, with special rivalry between the two wealthy sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow. The prevalence of that idea appeared when the Provincial Council now sanctioned was constituted. Whatever negotiations with the Pope may have preceded the adoption of a Constitution,[1] its earliest Statute regulating procedure bore a distinctive character, which has no parallel in western Christendom and accords with the severest assertions of episcopal parity laid down by Cyprian in his resistance to the Bishop of Rome. Proceedings were to be opened at the first meeting with a sermon preached by the Bishop of St. Andrews, but the opening sermon was thereafter to be preached by the bishops in turn. A president was to be elected annually and to bear the title 'Conservator of the privileges and rights of the Scottish Church.'[2] The designation Conservator, which had no ecclesiastical associations, was given in the thirteenth century to the presiding functionary of various academical and political institutions,[3] and carried with it the idea both of corporate privilege and of individual rights which must be officially guarded. The Conservator, besides presiding at stated meetings of the

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[1] See Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, xxxvi. The date of the Constitution is unknown.

[2] This designation became the official one. In the Statutes he is also called Conservator Statutorum Concilii and Conservator Concilii. The title 'Dominus Conservator' or simply 'Conservator' was sometimes used.

[3] Thus the University of Paris had in 1200 a 'Conservator' and forty years later a 'Conservator Apostolicus'; the twenty-five barons appointed to guard Magna Charta were styled 'Conservatores.'

Council,[1] held an important if undefined position during his year of office, and was entitled to consider appeals against the action of individual bishops. It lay with him to fix the time and place of meeting, to punish with Church censures those who violated the ordinances of the Council and, generally, to be the voice of the Church as a whole. All bishops were required to attend the meetings of Council along with 'the prelates of their dioceses and the proctors of chapters.' The term 'prelate,' which was used vaguely in those days, included not only abbots and priors but deans and archdeacons. Attendance was also given by an uncertain number of untitled priests, although there was no approach to the idea of a representation of the parochial clergy.[2] The king was represented by two 'professors of civil law,' whose function it was to set forth to the Council his instructions 'with regard to the state of the realm, of the bishops and of the Scottish Church, and especially to protest and, if necessary, to appeal against any decision prejudicial to the king's majesty.'[3]

It has been contended that Pope Honorius did not contemplate the institution of a regular Council, merely intending to sanction a single meeting to promulgate the decisions of the Fourth Lateran, and that the Scots outwitted the papacy by utilizing the Bull to justify subsequent meetings.[4] But the contention has no support from history. When the Scots formally declared that the Council was an annual assemblage which had a traditional title to meet, no remonstrance was raised. Indeed papal legates sometimes appeared at the Council, as at a recognized institution of the Roman Church.

It is probable that for at least half a century the Council met once a year.[5] The 'General Statutes,' which are prefaced by a claim to meet annually and which, after declaring adherence to the first four Œcumenical Councils, prescribe the method of procedure, were issued at intervals between 1237 and 1286. Within the same period were issued the 'Aberdeen Statutes,' the 'Ecclesiastical Statutes' and the 'Constitutions of David, bishop of St. Andrews,' each of which represents separate legislation.[1] Besides the meetings indicated by these four groups of enactments, six or seven meetings are mentioned incidentally,[2] and the chroniclers who mention them suggest, if they do not state, that a Council meeting was an ordinary event. We read that at one Council judgment was pronounced upon a dispute between a baron and a bishop; that another Council excommunicated an abbot and his monks for a violent outrage upon Church property; that at another a bishop called upon his colleagues to denounce a certain excommunicated person; that at another the clergy complained of the non-payment of their tithes and received a sympathetic assurance from the king. Such samples of the business transacted sufficiently explain the rarity with which meetings are mentioned. Indeed writers who draw inferences from the small number of Statutes preserved overlook the fact that the functions of the Council were mainly administrative. So far as it legislated, it merely sought to enforce the rules and principles of the Roman Church by applying them to the special needs of Scotland. In this aspect the surviving Statutes present a fairly consistent and comprehensive scheme of working by-laws; and it may reasonably be held that these were thought to be adequate and that the matters dealt with at the ordinary annual meetings were temporary and personal. With regard to such matters, the argument based upon the paucity of permanent records has no force.

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[1] In this period 'Council' and 'Synod' are interchangeable terms. The resemblance of the office of Conservator to the Moderatorship of Presbyterian Assemblies is very slight.

[2] *Medieval Church*, p. 237.

[3] *Statuta*, ii. 239.

[4] Patrick thinks that the Bull may have been deliberately ambiguous, in order to evade the antagonism of jealous English churchmen.—*Statutes*, xxxv.

[5] Dowden has shown that Joseph Robertson's theory that the Council did not meet annually is hazardous.—*Medieval Church*, p. 233. Herkless and Hannay seem to accept Robertson's view.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 10.

Whether the meetings were annual or occasional, the Statutes passed give little indication of a desire to build up a distinctive Church fabric. Some of them reproduce verbatim decisions of the Fourth Lateran and other General Councils; others are taken from decrees passed in the first half of the thirteenth century at Canterbury and Salisbury, London and Oxford. There was a good deal of borrowing even from such historic rivals as York and Durham, and large use was made of Constitutions drawn up by Robert Grosseteste, the reforming bishop of Lincoln. The use made of these originals was by no means slavish. Extracts were skilfully combined; laws unsuitable to Scotland were omitted, and phrases inserted here and there show that the compilers paid heed to the actual necessities of a living and struggling Church. In this way the Statutes have a monumental value as a record of the condition of religion, but there is no trace of any attempt to enforce them, or of any agency by which they could have been enforced. Indeed, the Provincial Council is an example of the familiar truth that the existence of a good institution is no proof of its actual worth. It was designed to meet a real need of the Church and its arrangements were in many respects appropriate; but it failed to check the aggrandizement of monasteries at the expense of episcopal and parochial agencies, the rivalries between bishops, the secularization of high office, the increase of pluralities and absenteeism and the neglect of rural charges.

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[1] Of these, Bishop David's Constitutions alone (1242) can be assigned to any one year. The Statutes of Aberdeen, although nominally diocesan, deal with ultra-diocesan matters and must be regarded as local republications of Provincial Statutes.—*Medieval Church*, p. 233.

[2] The dates as to which there is no dispute are 1238, 1242, 1268, 1273, 1275, 1280. See *Statuta*, lxiv.; *Medieval Church*, p. 235.

The reason for the failure of the Council is unmistakable. It was inconsistent with the other institutions of Scotland, political and religious. Political power more and more centred in the king's court, which gradually assumed a parliamentary character. In that court bishops and abbots had place and power, vague but real and growing, and in comparison with its decisions the voice of the Council was insignificant. In practice, the king's court came to assume that the Council was bound to repeat and register its edicts.

Still more glaring was its inconsistency with the Roman system of Church government. In that wonderful system, which reached its climax in this period, there was no room for episcopal parity, annual elections and the other items which, on paper, made the Council serviceable for Scotland. Without centralization and the subordination of office to office, Rome would not be Rome. In Scotland there was, as has been shown, no desire for severance from the papacy, no conception of a severance. And the Council was not incorporated in the papal scheme. It therefore did not become a working force in the control of Church affairs. No doubt it familiarized the Scottish clergy with some of the enactments of the Roman Church, but it supplied no means for making these effective. While it registered prevailing offences, it provided no remedy. Lying almost wholly apart from the swelling stream of communications with Rome, it neither facilitated nor hindered papal administration. In the innumerable contendings and complications indicated in this and the preceding chapter, there is not a single point at which the Council gave voice to the purpose of the Church or guided its policy. The most that can be said is that it developed the consciousness of national Church interests.

The extent, the variety and the consequences of the communications with Rome can scarcely be exaggerated. The only final settlement of any dispute lay in an appeal to the Pope, and the desire of popes to intervene is far less manifest than the readiness of disputants to appeal. A large proportion, probably the majority, of the appellants were disappointed candidates for office. Yet other appeals were innumerable. Some were important, involving questions which could not properly be decided by those who were subject to local influence, such as the division of dioceses and the relation between bishops and abbots. Others were incidental and personal, as when priories and cathedral Chapters quarrelled about the terms of a bequest. Sometimes grave religious interests were at stake; at other times the issue raised was of the kind which in modern Scotland is settled by a sheriff-substitute. The Papal Registers show that very few weeks can have passed without some litigants or petitioners making their journey to or from the papal court. In this respect the authority of Rome was recognized in every diocese[1] and permeated Church life.

When an appeal was received, there were different ways of dealing with it. (1) Sometimes, especially when political interests were involved, a legate was despatched to Scotland; he might either be entrusted with executive powers or instructed to report to the Pope. The visits of legates were not acceptable, partly because of their overbearing ways, partly because their visits were usually accompanied by financial claims.[2] (2) At other times a commission of investigation was entrusted to English or French churchmen, a still more unpopular plan. It is a striking indication of the failure of Rome to measure the mood of Scottish patriotism, that at the beginning of the reign of Alexander III, when the ecclesiastical liberation of Scotland from England had been completed, Pope Innocent IV remitted an appeal from the Scottish bishops to the Bishops of Lincoln, Worcester and Lichfield. (3) Questions requiring minute local scrutiny were frequently remitted to commissions of Scottish churchmen, care being taken to select men who had no connexion with the locality and whose position might guarantee the independence of their judgment. There is no reason for thinking that such commissions failed in justice. (4) All other cases were heard at Rome before the Curia, over which at this time the Pope usually presided. Personal questions between rival candidates were almost always heard at Rome.

Any generalization as to the motives or principles by which papal decisions were regulated would be unjustifiable, for the popes of the thirteenth century included not only blundering and ambitious tyrants whose avarice was notorious, but statesmanlike, irreproachable churchmen with abilities which in some cases amounted to genius. Some papal documents of the period lay down admirable principles and prescribe Christian duties with searching emphasis. Attempts were occasionally made to check the exactions of bishops, to reconcile rivals, to prevent the alienation of Church property and to limit the intervention of kings in Church affairs. Even the best popes, however, yielded to the custom of granting exemptions and privileges and abating the fair administration of law in the interest of persons and corporations. The various irregularities by which Church administration was impaired and Church life impoverished —pluralities, absenteeism, the appointment of unordained men to high clerical office, the conferring of the revenue of parishes upon monasteries and bishoprics—frequently received papal sanction. For the history of the Scottish Church the motives which prompted the sanction are unimportant, while the calamitous result of it upon the religious life of the nation is a primary fact.

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[1] In 1235 a bishop with his clergy was exempted from obligation to 'appear before judges outside Scotland against his will,' but the privilege was 'resisted by his enemies.'—Theiner, p. 32; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 175.

[2] The Melrose Chronicle, in narrating the visit of a cardinal legate in 1201, records that he was honourably entertained for more than fifty nights when attempting to mediate between Kelso and Melrose—'utrique parti bene pollicitans, nulli satisfaciens, quamplurima dona scilicet auri et argenti necnon et equorum plurimorum ab utraque parte auferens, nulli quicquam commoditatis conferens, litem penitus indeterminatam reliquit.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 104. In 1176 another cardinal legate was recalled 'propter nimiam cupiditatem.'—*Gesta Henrici II*, i. 166.

The financial burden which the administration of affairs by Rome involved was exceedingly heavy, as the popes themselves recognized. When, for example, the competition between John and Hugh for the see of St. Andrews was at its keenest, Urban III gave express instructions that the appellants should defray the expenses of their repeated appeals out of their own revenues, lest 'the clerics and churches placed under them should be burdened.'[1] Such an instruction, however, guarded one Church revenue at the expense of another, the bishops if not their subordinates being impoverished. The cost of special appeals, in addition to the outlay in which all bishops were involved by the need for securing 'confirmation' at Rome, hampered them seriously in their administration and forced them to borrow money on the security of ecclesiastical properties, although this was a direct violation of Church law.[2] There can be no clearer proof of the defectiveness of an administrative system than the fact that some of its provisions can be fulfilled only by the breach of others. In truth, at this stage the wilful or tyrannical exactions of Rome are less conspicuous than the inherent defects of the method of government. The distance of Scotland from Rome, with the additional inaccessibility caused by the hostility of England, proved to be an almost insuperable hindrance to good government, at a time when the ecclesiastical machinery by which the Roman Church of modern days controls her remote provinces was non-existent.

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[1] Roger Hoveden, ii. 310-12.

[2] See pages 215, 216.

The religious life of the laity in this period is almost entirely unknown. That there was a good deal of piety among the propertied classes may be inferred from the tone of bequests and the frequency of provisions for the burning of tapers and saying of masses on behalf of the dead. The intense piety of Malcolm the Maiden led him to neglect his royal duties and brought upon him the hatred of his subjects. Of the religion of the common people, only stray notices survive. They were required to make confession and to 'take communion' at least once a year.[1] Sometimes, when they refused to make payment of tithes, the eucharist was withheld from them, although this was illegal. They were credulous, believing in witchcraft and yielding easily to the promises of vendors of indulgences (*questionarii*), whose astounding promises had to be restrained by enactment.[2] Yet they had little reverence for holy days or holy places, sporting and dancing in churches and desecrating churchyards. In such respects they differed little from contemporary Englishmen and Frenchmen.

The manners and morals of the clergy are somewhat better known from the surviving Statutes to which reference has already been made, and from a few papal enactments dealing with offences which specially prevailed. In 1200 a bishop of Glasgow found it necessary to consult a French archbishop as to the proper treatment of clerics who were involved in duels, and in 1216 Pope Innocent III issued a Bull prohibiting bishops, abbots and other priests from indulgence in that practice, which had 'long prevailed in Scotland as in England.' Like priests in other countries, Scottish priests indulged in gaudy and otherwise improper costumes, set an example in irreverence,[1] and were apt to neglect entirely the instruction of their flocks. Their carelessness of the vessels of the sanctuary and even of the sacred elements called for repeated censure, and the extreme poverty in which some of them lived tempted them, in violation of episcopal instructions, to 'sell the sacraments.'

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[1] In 1161 Pope Alexander III instructed the clergy and people of Glasgow diocese to visit their cathedral annually, 'according to the usage of St. Andrews and other surrounding sees, and to exhibit their filial devotion and reverence in word and deed.'—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 19.

[2] A General Statute enacts (1) that when a pardoner comes to a church, the priest in charge shall see that he adheres strictly to the terms of his papal letter; (2) that no pardoner shall visit the same church more than once a year.—*Statuta*, ii. 25.

The Statutes which deal with the relation of priests to women have a painfully distinct character. The celibacy of the clergy, pronounced by Church Councils (1074) under the guidance of Hildebrand to be an absolutely binding law, was accepted in England in various enactments,[2] but for a century the law was not enforced with any stringency. A Council held at Oseney in 1222 declared that those of the English clergy who 'had concubines' should be deprived of their benefices, and in 1237 a papal legate gave precision to the declaration. Even thereafter, the penalties prescribed were rarely exacted.[3] It is not surprising that in Scotland, where in this period so many English priests and monks found a home, there was similar laxity, and that 'priests' sons' are named in many ecclesiastical documents without any censure on their fathers. We have already[1] seen that in 1185 and again in 1251 the highest Church authority recognized that there were privileged clerics who had wives and were none the less entitled to papal protection. Although such wives were termed 'concubines' and the legitimacy of their offspring was debated, the relationship was not generally regarded as immoral, and it merely shows that in Scotland as in England the Roman Church had as yet failed to make celibacy a working law of clerical life.

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[1] The Chronicles of Durham record picturesquely a visit paid to Kirkcudbright by Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, in 1164. The visit fell on St. Cuthbert's Day. A bull was dragged by ropes from the field to the saint's shrine, to be offered as an oblation; but the young clergy, 'qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes cognominantur, resolved to make fun with the bull before it was sacrificed and dragged it into the cemetery. Their seniors were shocked with this profanation of the holy place and remonstrated. The offending clerics retorted with jeers, one saying, 'No proof has been given of the presence or power of this Cuthbert, although this tightly built little stone church may be his.' With a roar and a leap the bull impaled the speaker on its horns. So he paid the penalty of his folly for having dared to break the holy quiet of the saint; and the people, seeing the Blessed Cuthbert's power, paid him the honour that was his due with hymns and voices. —*Regist. Dunelm.*, i. 178.

[2] The most important were in 1102, 1108, 1126 and 1129.

[3] Stephens, *History of the English Church*, p. 298.

It is not, however, with that failure that the Statutes deal, but with cases where celibacy was professed and celibate clerics lived in an immorality for which no such excuse can be tendered. The most tolerant judgment will not reckon as respectable women—wives except in name—the *focariae* whom, say the Statutes, 'priests visited in strange houses,' thus unfitting themselves 'to handle the body and blood of Jesus Christ.' The Statutes which deal with such cases are very minute. Although not original, but carefully composed from different sources,[2] they indicate a manner of life which would have been impossible if bishops and archdeacons had been faithful to their offices. The same evidence shows that disgraceful advantage was sometimes taken by priests of their official acquaintance with women. The Provincial Council selected for insertion in its General Statutes the following Decretum of Gratian :—

> 'If a priest commit sin with his own spiritual daughter, let him know that he has been guilty of grievous adultery. . . . A bishop or a presbyter ought not to sin with women who have confessed to him. If perchance this happen—which heaven forbid—let him do penance as in the case of a spiritual daughter—a bishop for fifteen years, a presbyter for twelve; and yet, if his sins come to the knowledge of the people (*si in conscientiam populi venerint*) let him be deposed.'[3]

Beside this statute must be placed a grim enactment published by David de Bernham for his diocese in 1242 : 'We forbid the confessions of women being heard between the veil and the altar; they should be heard in another part of the church, beyond earshot but not out of sight.'[1]

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[1] See page 223.

[2] The statute 'De Vita et Honestate Clericorum' contains excerpts from Statutes passed at Rome in 1215, at London in 1237, at Salisbury in 1217 and at Oxford in 1222.—*Statuta*, ii. 270.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 48-9.

The prohibition of such offences by no means proves that they were usual, yet it shows that they were so frequent as to call for special legislation.[2] That degradation of sexual morals, which contributed largely in later generations to the ruin of the Roman Church in Scotland, was manifest in the first century of Roman rule.

The Church life of those times bears scarcely a trace of religious idealism or even of romance. There is no record of a saintly life after the days of Waltheve. Only twice can tokens of religious enthusiasm be discerned, and the contrast between the two occasions is suggestive. The erection of a cathedral for the diocese of Glasgow seems to have touched the national spirit to a remarkable extent, evoking pious liberality in every part of the land.

Very different was the other occasion, when the devout grasped weapons of destruction in the birth-place of Scottish Christianity. Although Queen Margaret, as we have seen, erected buildings on Iona, she had not interfered with its traditions. Through a century of Norse depredations the abbacy had been held by members of a branch of the Scotic Church in Ireland which had not come under the Roman Obedience, while the religion of the island, as far as it lived, was directed by a quaint group of clerics including a Great Priest, a Chief of Culdees and a Culdee reader (*ferleiginn*). In 1164 Somerled, lord of the Isles, attempted to detach Iona completely from Scotland, by placing it under charge of an abbot of Derry who was co-arb or heir of Columba; but the attempt failed for reasons unknown, and forty years later another Lord of the Isles, Reginald, determined to subject Iona to Rome.[3] By a Bull dated December 1203, Innocent III brought the monastery under the patronage of

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[1] Similar enactments were passed at Salisbury in 1217 and Durham in 1220.

[2] 'It is not the way of religious Councils,' writes Canon Barry, 'to legislate for evils which do not exist or have attained only slender proportions.'—*Cambridge Modern History*, i. 631.

[3] About this date William the Lyon granted to Holyrood abbey certain churches in Galloway which belonged to Iona.—*Cart. S. Crucis*, p. 41.

St. Peter and the popes, and placed it in charge of Benedictines, who proceeded to erect a 'modern' edifice in the latest phase of the Transition style.[1] When the few and feeble survivors of the Church of Columba were ejected from their homes by the Benedictines, help came from Columba's descendants in Ireland. The clergy and people of Ulster, headed by two bishops and two abbots, made a raid upon Iona and levelled the Benedictine buildings to the ground, where their ruins attested the relation between the Celtic and the Roman Churches. They had been laid low because the builders were foreigners, whose aggressions were hateful to the all but extinct remainder of Celtic Christianity.[2] It was supposed until recently that the site of the structure, erected with the benediction of the greatest of the popes, was a desolate valley in the centre of the island, known as 'The Glen of the Church'; and its desolation appeared to be a memorial of the unqualified hostility of the two Church systems. Architectural investigations, however, carried on by the Iona Restoration Trustees, point towards facts of more welcome significance. It is probable that the obnoxious buildings occupied the site, and included part, of Queen Margaret's monastery, and that beneath lay fragments of a still earlier structure, which may have been the refectory of the 'family' of Columba. Before the thirteenth century had advanced far, all these were included in an enlarged abbey of rich workmanship, which served as a place of worship during the centuries of Roman Obedience and is now occupied as a sanctuary of Ecclesia Scoticana.[3] This testimony of the stones, if it is made good, will be a symbol of that continuity of Christian life which the rivalries and collisions of history are apt to hide, and a token that the Burning Bush has not been consumed.

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[1] A Benedictine nunnery which was erected at the same time escaped destruction.

[2] With regard to the facts mentioned above, see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 413 ff.; *Annals of Ulster*, p. 372; Haddan and Stubbs, II. i. 235; *Orig. Paroch.*, ii. 391; Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, cxxxii. 342; Lawrie, *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 89.

[3] The above statement rests upon information very courteously supplied by the adviser of the Iona Restoration Trust, Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A., who at an early date will make public detailed proof of the architectural continuity of the buildings. The Trustees, who hold the buildings for the Church of Scotland, are by the terms of the trust-deed empowered to permit the buildings to be used for the services of other Churches.

Meanwhile the Church on the mainland had identified itself with patriotic aspirations and shown a strongly national character. How thoroughly patriotic it had become was first apparent when Rome, as the following pages will show gave English aggressions her unqualified support.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

1287-1329

Churchmen champions of national cause—The fighting bishops—Hesitation of the popes—Their support of England—Excommunication of Bruce—Papal authority defied—Excommunications and interdicts—Gradual triumph of Bruce—Restoration to papal favour—Church affairs during the war—The religion of Bruce and his followers—Estimate of the papal policy.

THE political complications which followed the death of Alexander III and the war in which Wallace and Bruce were champions had almost unlimited national consequences, many of which were reflected in the history of the Church. In 1329 the nation emerged from the struggle impoverished and bruised, but victorious and cemented into a new and permanent unity; while, as a counterpart of this, the Church, although blighted almost to sterility, had secured complete independence of the Church of England and new conceptions of the papacy. It is true that Church affairs strictly so called were subordinate to political and military matters; yet at many stages of the contest Church interests were dominant and Church influences shaped the issue of events. In the case of every country which has had to contend for its freedom or independence, the relation between religion and patriotism has been important, and has regulated the place of the Church in the affections and aspirations of the nation. In the case of Scotland, that relation was at this stage of history unique. Churchmen were on the one side and the Church was on the other. A priesthood which derived its authority from Rome and was equipped with the Roman sacraments defied the authority and did not blanch before the full-voiced maledictions of the Roman Church. This picturesque and impressive fact, which has received only passing notice from political historians, was pregnant with consequences for Church history.

From the beginning of the struggle Scottish bishops and abbots were prominent as statesmen and diplomatists, and, when the time came for fighting, they furnished the sinews of war and led the Scots in battle. Of six commissioners appointed in 1286 to govern the kingdom two were bishops, and again, in 1289, there were two bishops among the four guardians who were chosen to rule during the Regency. The assembly of nobles, clergy and 'community' which in 1289-90 adopted the Treaty of Brigham consisted of forty-six churchmen—twelve bishops, twenty-three abbots and eleven priors—with sixty earls and barons. That treaty, in addition to its political and military provisions, expressly declared the independence of the Scottish Church, asserted the right of Chapters to elect their own bishops, and forbade bishops to render fealty to any foreign sovereign. The very large proportion of ecclesiastics in the assembly, with the ecclesiastical claim thus made, is a fair indication both of the power of churchmen and of their policy. The only bishop[1] who at this stage seems to have favoured the English cause was William Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, who in 1291 approached Edward I as sovereign arbiter; and, although at later stages many churchmen changed sides repeatedly, their weight was eventually cast with almost unbroken force on the patriotic side. The strongest allies of William Wallace were Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, and William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews. In 1304 Wishart was in counsel with Robert the Bruce, and on June 11 of that year Lamberton and Bruce signed a secret bond to assist each other 'against all men in view of future dangers': Lamberton was to assist Bruce in his claims to the crown, and Bruce was to further the independence of the

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[1] Bishop Ferquhard of Caithness at first favoured Edward I, but in 1309 he adhered to the cause of Bruce. Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld, on the other hand, who had secured his office 'per Anglos,' sat in the English parliament in 1305.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 66.

Church of Scotland.[1] Immediately after the assassination of Comyn at Dumfries (1306), Bruce was absolved from guilt by Wishart at Glasgow and crowned King of Scotland at Scone, Lamberton and Wishart taking part in the coronation. Their action was practically endorsed by all the other bishops. When in 1310 a Council[2] held at Dundee formally recognized Bruce as king, there was no dissentient voice. From that date onwards bishops, abbots and priors were, with two or three insignificant exceptions, unanimous. They led in every meeting for counsel and were among the leaders in almost every battle, while their official authority was freely used in support of the national cause.

The adherence of the clergy was not a mere matter of individual predilection and personal bias. It was the deliberate movement of a body of men who resolved to make their adherence effective. The Abbot of Jedburgh, for instance, who with some of his canons favoured the English cause, was ejected from his abbey and had to flee to England.[3] In 1296 twenty-six English priests were deposed in the diocese of St. Andrews.[4] Fordun records that in the same year all the English clergy were banished on account of their plottings,[5] and an Act of parliament of 1466 alleges that under Bruce it was enacted that no Englishman should hold a benefice within the realm.[6] But such enactments were not needed. The solidity and strength of the clergy were recognized on all hands. 'The rebellion,' writes the Lanercost chronicler, 'was the work of evil priests.' Edward I knew that the churchmen were his strongest and most determined enemies. At Rome, too, the situation was ultimately, though slowly, acknowledged. Papal documents from 1309 onwards declare that the Scottish prelates were responsible for 'the whole turmoil.'

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[1] Maxwell, *The Making of Scotland*, p. 104.

[2] The deed of this Council runs in the name of eleven bishops. Hume Brown (*History of Scotland*, i. 156) speaks of it as a 'Provincial Council of the clergy. Robertson (*Statuta*, lxxii.) regards it as a General Council of the Estates.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 365.

[4] *Statuta*, ii. 276.

[5] *Scotichronicon*, vi. 44, xi. 21.

[6] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 86.

It would be tedious to enumerate the occasions on which individual bishops and groups of 'prelates' were suspended or excommunicated for supporting Bruce.

Those fighting bishops and abbots were patriots after the fashion of their time. Their *morale* was not high. Lamberton was 'the most accomplished perjurer of his day.'[1] Wishart approached him in the accomplishment by breaking pledges to England at least six times. Indeed Hill Burton estimates that churchmen as a class broke one hundred per cent. more oaths than their lay contemporaries. Yet these oaths were extracted from them, and political oaths were not regarded as matters of personal honour. If they were far from being saintly men, they showed little of that lust for gold and office which disfigured the English churchmen who fought against the Danes, and their courage had a romantic daring. Both Wishart and Lamberton endured many years of severe imprisonment in England.[2] Wishart is said to have used the timber intended for the spire of his cathedral as material for engines to batter the castles held by the English. So David, bishop of Moray, proclaimed from the pulpit that his hearers would serve God better by fighting for Bruce than by contending in the Holy Land against the Saracens. Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, when the English landed at Inverkeithing, led out his vassals against them, and replied to a timid sheriff who warned him that the fight was unequal, 'The king would do well, Sir, to hack your spurs from off your feet: all who love king and country follow me!' More devout was the patriotism of Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, and afterwards bishop of Dunblane, who absolved Bruce on the eve of Bannockburn and next day carried the Crucifix along the Scottish lines, exhorting the kneeling soldiers to fight for fatherland. The English kings feared these men. Edward I urged the papal authorities to depose Lamberton Edward II strove as strenuously to prevent the promotion of Maurice; and both monarchs, by their repeated attempts to secure the appointment of Englishmen to Scottish bishoprics, showed their appreciation of what the Scottish cause owed to the support of churchmen. The fact that bishops and abbots ignored ecclesiastical obligations and defied the persuasions and threats of the highest Church authority, went far to determine the issue of the war.[1]

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[1] Lang, *History of Scotland*, i. 191.

[2] Wishart was put in chains in 1306. When released, after Bannockburn, he had lost his eyesight.

It might seem that this championship of national interests by the clergy would stimulate Church life and secure for Church institutions an intimate place in the affections of the nation, but any such development was checked by the fact that the Scottish bishops and abbots did not represent the mind and policy of the Catholic Church. The English clergy, who had far more ecclesiastical distinction and a traditional claim to represent Church interests, were the leaders on the other side. English claims were urged by churchmen of the highest distinction. On the borderland the Scots were continually fighting against powerful bishops. In one encounter (1319) they slew so many cathedral dignitaries that the battle was styled the Chapter of Myten. The archbishops of York were unremitting in asserting that the Scottish struggle was 'schismatical' and in charging the Scots with sacrilege and apostasy. More than once religious immunities were tendered from York to those who would forsake Bruce. The idea grew and prevailed that resistance to England meant resistance to the Church and, as the struggle reached a climax, this idea became a tangible reality. The claims of England received the explicit sanction of Rome.

The attitude and policy of the papacy were so important at the time, and had so much permanent influence upon the religion of Scotland, that they require full explanation. They were shaped by four popes, Boniface VIII (1294-1303), Benedict XI (1303-4), Clement V (1305-14) and John XXII (1316-34). The last two, whose popedoms were the most important for Scotland, were Frenchmen, holding their Curia at Avignon. Yet the nationality and the diplomatic surroundings of the individual popes had little influence. The papal documents of the period are, with one exception to be noted hereafter, impersonal in their tone; ideas and sentiments are repeated in unaltered phrases by different popes and, generally, they represent the continuous action of a watchful and cautious council.[1]

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[1] The Franciscan friars were as definitely on the patriotic side. It was in their chapel at Dundee that the rally of 1310 was made.

At the beginning of the struggle, Rome maintained the attitude defined in the preceding chapter of kindly and helpful patronage of Scotland as her 'special daughter.'[2] In 1298 the election of Lamberton, Wallace's strong ally, to the bishopric of St. Andrews received papal confirmation and Edward I was warned against unjust aggressions upon Scotland. In the following year, after the disaster of Falkirk, Wallace, with the backing of Philip of France, appealed to the Pope and secured his support. The Pope not only called upon Edward I to liberate two Scottish bishops who were his prisoners, but enjoined him to recall his officials from Scotland, which 'belonged to the Roman Church' not to England.[3] This injunction was repeated in 1300 in a formal and argued document, which founded the claim of Rome upon the relics of St. Andrew, reminded the English monarch that he was breaking treaty rights and summoned him to justify his aggressions before the Curia. Edward, however, indignantly repudiated the title of the Pope to deal with political affairs,[4] challenged his claim to authority over Scotland and, ignoring the summons to Rome, once more led his army northwards. In its effect upon Rome, this defiant policy was entirely successful. Without further argument, and indeed without a word of explanation, the Pope abandoned the Scottish cause. In August 1302 he wrote two weighty letters to Scotland in the interests of 'Edward, his illustrious and very dear brother in Christ.' In the one addressed to the Scottish bishops, he tells them that common opinion holds them to be the chief promoters and fosterers of the present confusion, that they are leading into trouble the nation which they ought to shepherd, and that they must seek for peace with Edward; otherwise His Holiness will be compelled to apply 'another remedy.' The other letter is written to the Bishop of Glasgow in still stronger terms. The Pope has learned with amazement that Wishart is showing himself to be a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence; as the principal promoter of the whole confusion, he is offending God and wrecking his own reputation and salvation; he must immediately repent of his errors and seek for peace with England.[1]

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[1] Hill Burton's discussion of the papal policy is a model of impartiality, but the documents published in the forty years that have passed since the publication of his *History* show that he underestimated the support given to England by the popes.

[2] See pages 228, 233.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 584.

[4] Edward in his reply went farther back than St. Andrew—to the days of Samuel and Eli, when Brutus of Troy gave his name to Britain.

From the date of these letters onwards, the weight of Rome was thrown upon the side of England.[2] Undoubtedly Bruce committed flagrant sacrilege by the fatal blow dealt at Dumfries, but three years before that date he had been marked as an enemy of the Church, as appeared by the rapidity with which his excommunication was transmitted and proclaimed.[3] It should be noted that there was no attempt to have the proclamation made by the Scottish bishops, who by this time had broken quite away from papal control.[4] It was made in St. Paul's, London, by English churchmen, and in the same year the Archbishop of York was ordered to seize Bruce, if possible, and bring him to Avignon, now the seat of the papacy.[5] A shy endeavour which the Pope made to secure the liberation of Wishart, now a prisoner in England, represented no change of policy. In 1309 Bruce was again excommunicated for 'damnably persevering in his iniquity.' The triumph of the Scots at Bannockburn led to no alteration in the papal attitude. When Edward II in his distress appealed to the Pope to intervene in his favour, the appeal elicited a response as favourable as the times allowed.[1] In 1317 Pope John XXII, whose remarkable popedom had begun in 1316, despatched two cardinal legates, Gaucelin and Luche, to proclaim truce between England and Scotland, giving them authority to excommunicate Bruce if he should prove recalcitrant. In his commission he designated Bruce as his 'beloved son, that noble man who at present governs Scotland,' and expressed the hope that Bruce would not take it ill that he was not styled king. But this courtesy of language was entirely diplomatic. In private instructions given to the legates he authorized them to proceed against Bruce, 'his accomplices and other destroyers of churches,' and, in particular, to 'loose Bruce's subjects from their fealty and to dissolve all conventions and pacts.' Not content with this, he wrote to the Bishops of Norwich and Ely instructing them to take measures against Bruce, who 'has sinned by refusing to do homage to the king of England and has broken out into insensate fury'; while in yet another letter he urged the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle and the Bishop of Ely to guard their dioceses against the intrusion of rebels and all supporters of Bruce.[2]

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[1] Theiner, pp. 170-1; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 603.

[2] The Pope now acknowledged Edward to be King of Scotland, intimating episcopal confirmations to him.—*Ibid.*, ii. 9; Theiner, p. 202.

[3] The assassination was on Feb. 10, 1306. The sentence was passed on June 5, and pronounced by the Archdeacons of Middlesex and Colchester with the Cardinal of St. Sabina, papal legate.—*Annales Londinenses*, i. 147.

[4] The Bishop of Moray was excommunicated as party to the assassination and the Bishop of Glasgow was suspended for having absolved Bruce.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 6.

At this stage the Pope seems to have been unacquainted with the situation of affairs, for again and again in the summer of 1317 he publicly intimated a levy of tithes in Scotland and even instructed the Scottish bishops to contribute to a crusading levy laid upon the English king. But his eyes were opened by the fortunes of his legates. On their northward journey, between York and Durham, they were assaulted by 'men of Belial, nurselings of perdition' who insulted and plundered them, tearing up some Apostolical documents and appropriating others. They escaped, however, to the strong precincts of Durham and presently made their way into Scotland, where Bruce received them politely, but refused point-blank to accept the Pope's letters, seeing that they were addressed to 'Robert de Brus' with omission of his royal title. Having thus failed to execute their charge in person, they withdrew into England, entrusting their letters to a Minorite friar who met with even rougher treatment. He found Bruce in the Oldcambus forest, some fifteen miles north of Berwick, preparing for the siege of that important town. Bruce abruptly declined to look at any document in which he was not entitled king, and, when the friar asked for a safe-conduct, he was instead ordered to get him gone from Scotland as speedily as possible. He fled from the Scottish camp in terror and, before he reached Berwick, he was seized by a band of 'ill-looking men,' robbed of his despatches and hustled naked across the Tweed.[1]

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[1] A Pacificating Bull, enjoining a two years' truce under pain of excommunication. Being addressed to the king of England and 'Robert de Bruce *conducting himself as* king of Scotland,' it rejected Bruce's title, and made a truce impossible for the Scots.—*Foedera*, Record edition, ii. 317.

[2] The extracts from Papal Registers of 1317 represent a voluminous correspondence, difficult to arrange owing to the omission of the months of the year. At some stages they indicate a different development from that presented in Theiner's documents. In the above narrative extracts of doubtful date are ignored. The most important passages are *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 127, 129, 131, 416, 417, 437. Cf. Theiner, pp. 188-90, 192, 195.

When the tidings reached the Pope, he was, in his own words, 'smitten with horror and his heart was inflamed with stinging grief.'[2] Without delay he drafted and despatched a new Bull of excommunication and gave the legates additional powers,[3] which they promptly exercised with the assistance of the Archbishop of York. Yet before the year 1318 ended it became clear that he had underestimated the power of Bruce and overestimated his own authority in Scotland. In March Bruce became master of Berwick, and, although the Bull was proclaimed with emphasis on the Borders, a meeting of the Estates held at Scone in December passed, among various resolutions of political importance, a declaration of the liberties of the Church of Scotland and an injunction to the clergy against sending money to the Pope for the purchase of privileges. For another year the Pope attempted to maintain his unqualified patronage of the English cause. While exhorting Edward to exact punishment from those who had outraged his legates and authorizing him to employ crusading funds in his war with the Scots, he issued fresh orders for the publication of the Bull of excommunication and summoned the Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Moray to appear at Avignon on their defence touching the realm of Scotland.[1] At the beginning of 1320 Bruce himself was included in the summons, but by that time the triumph of the Scottish cause was assured, Edward having been forced to accept terms of peace. Neither Bruce nor the bishops paid heed to the summons and although they were all laid under ban for their contumacy,[2] this sentence seems not to have gone beyond the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Carlisle, to whom the execution of it was entrusted.[3] Indeed, before the documents reached England, the Pope had begun to waver.[4] He had received a formal petition adopted by the Scottish Estates in the abbey of Arbroath on April 6, 1320. They appealed to the Pope as the father of Christendom, setting forth in detail the wrongs they had suffered, declaring that they would never yield to the claims of England or desert Bruce their lawful king, protesting specially against papal appointments of Englishmen to Church office and begging him respectfully to consider the interests of justice and peace. They charged the English with savagery and sacrilege, avowed their eagerness to join in the Crusades and declared that, if the Christian cause should suffer through the continuance of war in Britain, the blame would rest on His Holiness.[5] This appeal, which was transmitted by two delegates, was for a time effective. In

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[1] Hailes' (ii. 93) graphic account must be corrected and supplemented from the Papal Registers, *Letters*, ii. 420, 427 ff. There are three if not four versions of the strange incidents. Theiner, p. 198, quotes a papal letter in which the versions are blended but not reconciled. It is certain, however, that the papal documents were destroyed and that Bruce was held responsible for the rough treatment of the legates.

[2] 'Nec sine stupore miramur.'

[3] Theiner, p. 200.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 191, 425; Theiner, p. 202.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 191, 199, 428; Theiner, p. 211. The number of times when Bruce was formally excommunicated is uncertain, and, as the Bulls sometimes failed to reach Scotland, unimportant.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[4] In 1318 the Pope had sent his legates two versions of a letter to Bruce, the one withholding the desired title, the other (found in the Secreta) granting it.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 419, 431. Hill Burton, who was unaware of this, regards the subsequent events as 'astounding.'—*History*, ii. 287.

[5] 'A great remonstrance . . . illustrious among appeals for national mercy and justice.'—*Ibid.*, ii. 283.

July the Pope wrote to Edward II urging him to make peace, and at the same time addressed a very friendly letter to Bruce, advising him to bring the war to a close, since he could not expect to be always successful in battle, and saying that, if he does not call him king, it is because it is not the 'custom of the Curia' to prejudge a disputed matter and because the use of the title would offend 'the other party.'[1] A month later he wrote again to Bruce in the same strain, explaining apologetically the appointment of English priests to office, and promising to suspend the ban of excommunication, a favour which he also announced in a special letter to the four bishops who had disregarded his summons.[2] To Edward he transmitted a draft treaty, and he specially instructed the Bishop of Winchester to enlist the interest of the English bishops in the cause of peace.[3]

Yet he studiously refrained from conceding to Bruce the title of king. He styled him his 'beloved son Robert calling himself king of Scotland and acting as king,' and he had by no means resolved to adopt the Scottish cause. To his legates in Britain he transmitted ambiguous instructions and he refrained from revoking his solemn sentences, waiting apparently to see how the Scots would now act.[4] The events of the following year, however, thwarted his attempt at peace-making. Edward, misled by some temporary successes, disregarded the Pope's advice, and the Pope, reverting to his former attitude, renewed the excommunication of the Scottish bishops.[5] In May 1323 Edward was forced to grant a truce which included a provision that the Scots might procure absolution from the Curia. He none the less urged the Pope to enforce the ban. At this stage Bruce gave proof of his eagerness for peace with the Church by sending his nephew, Earl of Moray, to Avignon as his advocate. Moray assured the Pope of Bruce's keen concern in the Holy War and in the Christian cause generally, and asked for himself leave to join in the Crusade. When the Pope replied that the Scots had shown themselves unworthy of such a privilege, Moray declared that Bruce desired peace and was willing to appear before the Pope. The Pope retorted that the Church could not receive Bruce back to her bosom till he had made peace with England; whereupon Moray skilfully produced his ultimatum, viz. that peace was possible only if Bruce was recognized by the Pope as king of Scotland. Probably we may accept Hill Burton's verdict, that 'the rough Scot overreached John XXII in diplomatic subtlety.' At least, three months later (January 1324) the Pope wrote a long letter to Edward indicating that he meant to concede the title and begging Edward to regard the concession as unimportant.[1] Edward was exceedingly indignant and the Pope yielded to his remonstrances. The question of the title fell into the background, and John made it a condition of absolution from the ban that Bruce should surrender Berwick and recognize Edward's suzerainty, a condition which the Scots repudiated.[2] So matters stood for four years. The Pope adhered to the English cause. Yet the Earl of Moray was now recognized as his 'agent' in Scotland,[3] and a certain abatement of hostility was shown when, in 1327, it was conceded that the children of Bruce's son David and the English princess Joan should be exempt from the interdict.[4]

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[1] Theiner, pp. 208, 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-11.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 428; Theiner, pp. 212, 213, 214.

[4] Compare *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 427 with ii. 419.—A document dated in Theiner 1317 or 1318 is placed in the *C.P.R.* in 1320.—Theiner, p. 199; *Letters*, ii. 429.

[5] Theiner, pp. 219-23.

The Treaty of Northampton, which in March 1328 sealed the victory of Bruce, included a provision that the king of England should advise the Pope to revoke all spiritual Processes against Bruce and his subjects. With a rapidity and completeness which show how entirely the papal policy had depended upon political considerations, Bruce was restored to the favour of the Church. In October 'our dearest son, Robert, the illustrious king of Scotland' was informed most graciously of his liberation from all Church sentences and penalties.[1] In November his father-confessor was authorized to absolve him fully from his sins.[2] At the beginning of 1329, Scottish bishops, well equipped with funds,[3] were in attendance on the Pope at Avignon, and in June, while papal nuncios were occupied in Scotland in granting pardons for non-payment of tithes and other irregularities, the Pope proclaimed that Bruce and his successors should be not only crowned but anointed by Scottish bishops.[4] There is some pathos in the fact that before the tidings of this last dearly desired concession reached Scotland the patriot king was dead. It remained for the Pope to minister consolations to his son, David II, and to bestow upon Scotland those religious favours which for more than twenty years had been almost completely withheld. He fulfilled both duties without restraint. To the new king he wrote as though Bruce had spent his life in the zealous service of the papacy,[5] while the Papal Registers for 1329 abound in dispensations, exemptions and special privileges granted to the Scots.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 427, 461; Hill Burton, ii. 295-6; Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce*, p. 294.

[2] Rait says that the papal acknowledgment was none the less given.—*Making of Scotland*, p. 93. Hume Brown's statement, as above (*History*, i. 166), is in keeping with the Papal Registers.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 476.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 486.

Leaving this complicated narrative, in which it has been impossible to separate Church history from political history, we must note how the special interests of religion had fared during the contest. It is not to be supposed that the influence of Rome had been wholly inoperative, even when the country was under ban. For the confirmation of new bishops in their sees the papal benediction was essential, and in the case of disputed elections to bishoprics, the claims of rival candidates could be decided only by the Curia. Between 1306 and 1326, while the contest was at its keenest, nine instances are recorded in which John XXII dealt with the consecration or election of bishops. In one instance at least the candidates appeared before him with their proctors and his decision was recognized by them as final.

In 1317, the year of his most strenuous maledictions upon

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 289; Theiner, p. 240.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 283; Theiner, p. 243.

[3] The payment made was £2000 sterling.—*Ibid.*, pp. 242, 247.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 291; Theiner, p. 244.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

Bruce, he gave proof of his desire to extend his influence by initiating a policy from which Scotland had hitherto been exempt. He 'reserved provision' to the see of Glasgow, *i.e.* he intimated that it lay with him not only to confirm but to select bishops for that see.[1] This step gave great offence to the Estates as well as to the clergy, and in the main[2] the bishops elected by Chapters secured confirmation. The readiness of the Curia to confirm bishops who were opposed to the papal policy was shown in 1322, when the Abbot of Inchaffray, who had crowned Bruce when under ban and ministered religion to the Scots at Bannockburn, was, after litigation at Avignon, confirmed as Bishop of Dunblane. Papal confirmation carried with it little influence over episcopal policy or administration.[3]

This aspect of Church life is emphasized by the almost complete interruption of financial relations between Scotland and the Curia. At the beginning of the period covered by this chapter, collections of crusading tithes were frequent and were always made through Scottish bishops and abbots or priors.[4] But in 1291 complaints were raised at Avignon that the tithes were not paid.[5] In 1296 a nuncio was despatched to Scotland to collect Peter's Pence, but after 1300 no serious attempt was made to secure contributions to papal purposes.[6] Now and then nuncios and bishops who were raising funds in England and Ireland were directed to include Scotland in their levies; but, except one case in which a rural rector was assessed towards 'the expense of opposing rebels against the Roman Church,'[7] there is no token that these instructions were effective Occasionally bishops were allowed by papal dispensations to borrow money on the security of Church lands and to appropriate parish revenues in order to cover the cost of their expeditions to Avignon.[1] It was only through such irregular transactions that Scotland made any contribution to papal enterprises or to the maintenance of the papal fabric.

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[1] In 1328 the Pope intimated that he had 'reserved' the bishopric of St. Andrews.—Theiner, p. 239.

[2] Twice or thrice in the days of William Wallace popes refused to confirm elections made by Chapters. Clement V appointed an English friar to the see of Glasgow, but his successor did not support the appointment.

[3] Consecrations sometimes took place at Avignon, sometimes in Italy. The ceremonies were outside Scottish Church life. In 1320 a 'provision' made by the Pope to Glasgow was ignored.—*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 310.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 509, 552, 553, 554, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 555.

[6] *Ibid.*, i. 564, 587.

[7] The tax was 100 marks.—*Ibid.*, ii. 236.

The intervention of popes in the working of the marriage law was also practically suspended. Until 1291 several dispensations authorizing illegal marriages were sought for and secured almost every year; but between that date and 1328 only nine such petitions were presented and in three of these the marriages were 'political,' being avowedly sanctioned in the interests of the papal policy.[2] In fact, while Scotland was under the ban, the papal theory was that there could be no celebration of marriage. In 1320 a dispensation was granted to the Roxburgh friars to celebrate that sacrament in a special case 'in spite of the existing interdict.'[3] The first bishop consecrated after a reconciliation had been effected was furnished with blank forms of marriage dispensation, as a sign that the popes were again ready to exercise their divine prerogative of mercy.

From the clergy, indeed, petitions and appeals, although less frequent than in times of peace, were numerous. Bishops petitioned for liberty to dispose of Church lands by bequest and sale. Monasteries petitioned for new privileges and for leave to modify their statutes. Men born out of wedlock secured permission to be ordained. Canons received sanction for absence from their stalls. Most numerous were the petitions made and granted for the holding of pluralities, which grew apace. Thus a papal chaplain, who was canon of Liége, St. Omer and Aberdeen, was allowed to hold a rectory in the diocese of St. Andrews; a Florence priest, to hold a living in Ross; a Culdee provost of St. Andrews, who was canon of Aberdeen and held livings in England and Scotland, to be canon of Glasgow; a canon of St. David's, engaged in the service of the English king in Scotland, to hold four benefices, three being in Scotland;

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 96, 222. See page 216.

[2] The Earls of Fife, Carrick and March.—*Ibid.*, ii. 30, 156, 235.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 201.

a dean of Glasgow, who was canon and prebendary of Dunkeld, to hold two livings in England; a dean of Moray, who was canon of Glasgow, to be canon of Aberdeen; a bishop of Caithness, to be canon of Bruges and to make certain cathedral appointments at Bruges.[1] These were all personal requests for exemption from Church law. Thrice only are popes recorded to have intervened, without appeal having been made to them, in the interests of Church life. In 1309 a papal legate, acting with Bishop Lamberton, held a court at Holyrood to investigate the charges brought against the Order of Knights Templars; but the trial was interrupted by the inroads of English invaders and was never completed.[2] In 1291 Pope Nicholas IV protested against the appropriation by the Crown of the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and in 1325 (or 1324) John XXII remonstrated with Bruce for making presentations to benefices, besides protesting generally against lay-collations. Neither of those interventions was effectual. Thus it was that for a generation—from 1291 till 1328—the only benefits which the Church received from the papacy were the confirmation of bishops in office and the occasional relaxation of Church law in the interest of individuals.

Although disorder and dilapidation were inevitable, Church fabrics suffered less than might be supposed. Edward I is probably charged justly with having destroyed the Benedictine monastery at Dunfermline in 1303. The abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose were levelled to the ground in 1322 by the army of Edward II, and Dryburgh abbey also suffered at his hands. Yet the charges which were brought against the English of wholesale desecration and frequent sacrilege are probably as exaggerated as the similar charges brought against the Scots by English chroniclers. If the dwellings of bishops and abbots suffered, it must be remembered that they were fortresses and that their owners were soldiers. When in 1296 the sacred Stone of Destiny was carried off from Scone and the Holy Rood from Edinburgh, they were removed with reverence, as treasures.[1] Further, the Scots themselves were at this stage scrupulously careful of their finest churches. Aberdeen cathedral was enlarged and decorated towards the close of the thirteenth century,[2] and the handsome cathedral at St. Andrews, which had occupied the energies of bishops since the days of Ernold,[3] was completed and consecrated in 1318. The distinction of the ceremonial, which was performed in the presence of the king, seven bishops, fifteen abbots and most of the secular nobility, indicates that the severance from Rome, which was in that year complete, had little influence upon the devoutness of the nation.

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[1] Theiner, p. 158; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 545, 612, ii. 21, 28, 285; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 279.

[2] The details of this interesting trial are given in Note J.

On the other hand, the discipline of the clergy suffered gravely. Bishops and abbots did not expend all their resources and militant energies in the cause of patriotism. We find an abbot of Arbroath giving Church properties to his own kindred, refusing to pay Church dues and terrorizing the monks by self-willed tyranny; a bishop of Ross applying Church revenues to his private purposes and defying discipline; a bishop of Glasgow extorting funds from a rector of Renfrew; a canon of Dryburgh knocking down his abbot in a quarrel; and a cleric of Moray losing two finger-joints in a brawl at Avignon.[4] When such cases were brought before popes, their practice in the normal state of affairs was to commission neighbouring bishops to investigate the charges, but not a single such commission was issued while Bruce was under ban. The general irregularity of administration is illustrated by the fact that on the death of Lamberton his episcopal residence was assigned to the juvenile Earl and Countess of Carrick, who received also the episcopal revenues.[5]

The confusion caused by the innumerable papal interdicts had various limitations. Some of the interdicts did not operate at all, the publication of them in Scotland being prohibited by the king. Even those which were published seem to have secured attention only in those few districts where English interests had some strength. It was not to be expected that parish priests whose own bishops were under ban would refuse to minister the sacraments. Where they did refuse, substitutes sometimes came from the south. At the close of the struggle Queen Isabella petitioned the Pope to absolve 'certain ordained clerics, holding cures of souls in England, and certain lay members of her household (*familiares*), who during the interdict had dispensed betrothals, marriages and other divine and ecclesiastical sacraments in Scotland.'[1] The ministration of sacraments by lay courtiers indicates a real deprivation, although generally the interdicts seem to have been regarded as inconvenient rather than intolerable. More serious was the loss of the special privileges which Rome alone could supply—permissions to endow tapers at church altars and grants of indulgence to penitent pilgrims at particular shrines.[2] These had come to bulk largely in popular religion. Petitions for such favours, which were specially numerous just before the war broke out, ceased entirely in 1291. The Church was detached from the organism and agencies of Catholicism and her ministerial efficiency was thereby strained and imperilled.

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[1] It was in 1296 that Edward, who had previously seized many of the national Records, laid hands upon others and sent the whole collection to London.

[2] In 1289 the Bishop of Aberdeen was allowed to make a levy on charges in his diocese for cathedral-building.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 502; Theiner, p. 146.

[3] See page 209.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 520, 522, 562, ii. 201; Theiner, p. 242.

[5] *Exchequer Rolls*, i. 259.

The incipient educational endeavours of the Church were necessarily arrested. A grant 'to assist schools' at Montrose may be ascribed to Bruce,[3] but all young Scots who desired learning left their native land. Their number was considerable, and the movement led to the formation of important colleges in France and England. By the middle of the thirteenth century turbulent Scottish students had given trouble to the authorities at Oxford, and about 1282 the Lady Dervorgilla, widow of John Balliol, gave them a settled lodging in a house which developed into Balliol College.[1] As important for the cause of learning was the action of David, bishop of Moray, mentioned already as a zealous patriot. To maintain students from his diocese at the University of Paris, he bought lands in the suburbs of the French capital, which at first furnished individual students with funds (*bursae*), and in 1325 became the nucleus of the Scots College, a foundation destined for distinction. These pilgrim students included a man so eminent as Duns Scotus (1274-1308), whose brilliant career at Oxford and Paris falls within this period. Yet few of them returned to do service in Scotland. It was not by men who had been touched by foreign influences that Church affairs were administered during the crisis.

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[1] Theiner, p. 245.

[2] There were altars so privileged in this period at Arbroath, Tranent, Lochmaben, Kinghorn, Jedburgh and St. Andrews. The normal period of relaxation was one year and forty days.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, i. 512, 514, 516, 520, 538, 540, 541.

[3] Grant, *Hist. of Burgh Schools*, p. 14.

The unity of the Church was maintained without any separate institutional action. Only two meetings of the Provincial Council are recorded, and the records of them are meagre. At a meeting held at Perth in 1321 an unimportant dispute about property was settled;[2] and at a meeting held at Scone in 1325 the Bishop of Glasgow lodged a protest against the claim of the king to present to vacant benefices. The protest was in accordance with the specific functions of the Council, which existed in order to guard 'ecclesiastical liberty'[3]; but it was not against Scottish kings that the Church of those years needed defence, and the protest had no consequences. The rarity of Council meetings at a time when the Church was severely strained was due to the fact that the 'prelates'[4] who were acting for the nation not only headed the Scots on the battlefield but swayed the counsels of the Estates. The development of the Scottish parliament[5] had great importance for the Church. Churchmen were the most capable, the best educated and the most resolute members of parliament. The most important meetings were held in Church buildings and the decisions of parliament gave voice with rare exceptions to the mind of churchmen. Although in this period the burghs emerged as an Estate, there was meanwhile no divergence of interest between Church and State. The religious and political aspects of the struggle were so blended that Church and king suffered and triumphed together and, if the Church was weakened and disorganized by every defeat, it was strengthened and consolidated by every victory.

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[1] The endowment was begun before 1269, as an act of penance by John Balliol, who provided lodgings and eightpence a day for certain 'poor scholars of the House of Balliol.'

[2] *Statuta*, lxxii.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxii.-lxxvi. and ii. 4.

[4] On the meaning of 'prelates' see page 240. The 'inferior clergy' gained a place in parliament under David II.

[5] The word 'parliament' was loosely applied to the assembly held at Brigham in 1289; but the first assembly to call itself a parliament was that held at Scone

The religion of patriots is apt either to become narrow and contentious or to be involved in secular diplomacy. In the case of a small and remote nation fighting for its independence, the spiritual motives at work are not easily discerned by its more civilized opponents, who naturally stigmatize it as barbarous and schismatical.[1] These qualities were freely ascribed to the Scottish Church both by England and by papal authorities, but history does not corroborate the charge. Hill Burton observes that the Scots had 'probably less than the English of the superstitions which passed for religion in those days.' They were, at least, less careful of ritual and less perturbed by the charge of schism. For the first time the nation was pervaded by a single emotion, and the emotion was of a type inconsistent with docility. Yet this only emphasizes the extent to which throughout the war a religious spirit was manifest and Church ordinances were maintained, not only without help from Rome but in spite of her hostility.

Undoubtedly this was largely due to Robert Bruce. The honour of the leading bishops and abbots was, as we have seen, often blurred. William Wallace, although he had his devout moods, showed none of that elevation of character

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in 1292. In 1296 the burghs set their seal to a public treaty; in 1326 they joined in voting a grant to the king—'the most notable event in the constitutional history of Scotland.' On the institutional development cf. Hill Burton, ii. 79; Hume Brown, i. 166; Lang, i. 165.

[1] Freeman's allegation that 'the Scots who resisted Edward were the English of Lothian,' has, as Rait shows, 'no basis in history.'—*Making of Scotland*, p. 94.

which mitigates the evils of warfare. But the purity and piety of Bruce were as conspicuous as his integrity.[1] The beginnings of his enterprise were marred by several offences; but after his fatal blow at Comyn his character rose steadily and soon purged itself of its earlier taints. Alike in his lonely wanderings and in his days of triumph, he was unstained by the licence which marked most of the heroes of the middle ages. A tone of personal religion pervades his career and sounds clearly both in its romantic episodes and in its practical decisions. His demeanour towards papal legates and his letters to the Pope were courteous and deferential, even when his refusal to bend to papal injunctions was resolute. His high-mindedness is reflected in the legend that an English herald, at the court of Edward II, ventured to extol King Robert as 'one of the three noblest knights alive.' He was eager to join in the Crusades, and his yearning for absolution, after his victory, discloses a sensitive religious conscience. In the charge he gave when dying, that his heart should be buried in the Holy Land, and in the cry of Douglas, as he fell among Moslem warriors, flinging the precious casket eastwards, 'Onward as thou wert wont, thou noble heart,' one hears the unsatisfied aspiration of a believing man and the witness of his closest comrade to his steadfast goodness.

His piety expressed itself in liberal benefactions to the Church. In penitent sorrow for the sacrilege he had committed in the Franciscan chapel at Dumfries, he increased the royal gift made annually to Franciscan friaries and founded a new friary of that Order at Lanark. Chartularies record his donations to several monasteries and churches.[2] He loved specially the graceful Cistercian abbey of Melrose, which the English wrecked, and in 1325 set apart for its repair all the dues leviable by the justiciary of Roxburgh. Upon his followers he enforced Christian customs which to many of them were uncongenial. After Bannockburn his generosity to captives and his care that the dead should be interred with Church rites won the praises of the vanquished.[1] Indeed several details of that decisive battle show that his religious spirit was reflected in the Scottish army. Both on the eve and on the morn of the battle, mass was duly celebrated. When the English were sunk in a carouse, the Scots 'took but bread and water because it was the Feast of St. John.' Before bows and swords were drawn, the Abbot of Inchaffray carried a crucifix before the line, and, as the men kneeled in prayer, their enemies imagined that they were asking them for pardon. If further proof is needed of attachment to Church ordinances, it may be found in the eagerness with which, in 1328 and 1329, the country and the Church, having vindicated their claims, returned to allegiance to the Pope. Not only voluntary gifts and payment of neglected dues but petitions and appeals flowed at once in large streams to Avignon. Papal emissaries were welcomed loyally to Scotland, as though the 'special daughter' of Rome regarded the long struggle not as a religious breach but as an unfortunate incident in national experience.

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[1] The facts as to Bruce's character which recent investigation has disclosed are presented in two volumes by Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce* (1909) and *The Making of Scotland* (1911).

[2] *Charters of Inchaffray*, xiv. 114, 116; *Chart. of Lindores*, 163, 274; *C.P.R., Letters*, iv. 225; *Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, iii. App.

The papal policy had probably, in its main intention, been dictated by a desire to further the interests of civilization and of the Church. Although it has been alleged that the popes were influenced by English bribes,[2] the most that has been proved in that direction is that they were affected by the general interests of the papal exchequer. Prior to those shameful Avignon developments which will be considered in next chapter, the Curia was as a rule guided in its international diplomacy by anxiety to prevent war and to foster those nationalities which would give the most effective support to the cause of the Church. There is no reason to doubt that in this case these were the considerations which prevailed. At first the Scottish claim to independence was admitted and supported, but it was set aside in view of the resolute attitude of Edward I. Clement V and John XXII seem to have reached the conclusion that it would be good for Britain to be ruled as a single kingdom by a strong monarch, and to have thought that their verdict on this matter would be accepted in Scotland as final. To the impartial student the change of policy appears as a blunder, due to a mistaken estimate of Scottish resources and of the strength of Scottish patriotism. The readiness with which in the thirteenth century the Scots had welcomed the patronage of Rome, in order to secure emancipation from England, concealed from the popes the fact that the determination of Scotland to be a self-governing country would overbear any disposition to yield to the Head of the Church. John's delineation of himself, as 'smitten with horror' by the despatch which informed him that Bruce would not read his letters and that the Scots had torn up apostolical documents, may be regarded as an accurate account of the conceptions by which he and his predecessor were guided. In the consciousness of Rome the idea of her traditional authority has always been deep-seated, and at this time she failed to recognize that her authority in Scotland dated only from the twelfth century. Naturally, John was slow to see the completeness of his blunder, and admitted the Scottish claim only when it had been thoroughly established by arms.

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[1] Hill Burton, ii. 270.

[2] So Grub, i. 340; Story, *The Church of Scotland*, ii. 286.

The blunder had permanent results in Scotland, as was indeed inevitable. The Church of Rome had shown itself to be an alien force, adverse to the aspirations of the nation. The patriotism of bishops and abbots failed to endear the Church to the nation, because it had been displayed in defiance of the papacy, upon which the Church as a sacramental institution and an ecclesiastical organism depended. At the same time there was lodged in the national conscience the pregnant idea that the religion of Scotland could live and stand without Rome, through the independent action of the Estates and the people. The two following centuries of Church life, and the complete severance from Rome with which they ended, are unintelligible if these things are forgotten. No wandering minstrel could tell the simplest tale about the War of Independence without disclosing the truth that its heroes had been religious men banned by Rome and upheld by the 'community.'

NOTE J. PAGE 267.

Process against Knights Templars in 1309.

Light is cast upon the relation between the Curia and Scotland by the records of a Process against the Knights Templars conducted at Holyrood by order of Pope Clement v. The Templars, who had been introduced into Scotland by David I, attained considerable wealth in the thirteenth century, and the prevalence of 'Temple' as a place-name indicates that their settlements were numerous.[1] Yet at the beginning of the fourteenth century they were few and unimportant. When Philip IV of France persuaded the Pope to initiate proceedings against the Order, it was at first (1307) proposed to arrest and impeach the Scottish along with the English, Irish and Welsh Templars. Ultimately, however, the Scots were put on trial separately before Bishop Lamberton of St. Andrews and John of Salario, a papal legate. The trial was held in November 1309. Two Templars were cross-examined. *Walter of Clifton* stated under oath that, as an Englishman, he was subject to the Master of the Order for England and for Scotland, but also acknowledged the authority of French 'visitors.' He had taken the vows at a secret conclave and had kept them carefully, having served seven years in England and three years at Blancrodocks, or Balantrodach, (Arniston). The Order, which he said had an ancient papal title to absolve from all sins except homicide and outrage upon priests, had only two Brothers in Scotland, the others having fled from prosecution. *William of Middleton*, also an Englishman who had served two years at Calthur (Maryculter) and Blancrodocks, confirmed John's evidence as to the management of the Order, and protested that he had kept his vow to accept no service from women, not even water to wash his hands. Evidence was tendered by the Abbots of Dunfermline, Holyrood and Newbottle, a Franciscan monk and about sixty other witnesses. Their evidence was vague; the Templars were 'suspected of sinister deeds'; their meetings, being strictly private, gave 'opportunities for crimes' such as were 'committed by the Templars in France.' One of their servants swore that he had seen them absolving laymen who were under excommunication and that their Chapters were so carefully guarded that their doings must be wicked. Many witnesses stated that they neglected the poor, showing hospitality only towards the rich, and that throughout Scotland it was a general belief that, if the Templars had been faithful Christians, the Holy Land would never have been lost. Beyond such generalities, no charge was brought against them. The Notary, in affixing his seal to the Process, states that the inquiry could not be carried out properly on account of the inroads of (English) enemies and continual expectation of war.

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[1] See Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Scottish Place-Names*, p. 315 ff.

It is noteworthy that the Bishop of St. Andrews co-operated readily with the legate. The failure to carry through the trial was wholly due to military disturbances. When in 1312 the Order was formally abolished by papal Bull, some of its possessions in Scotland were appropriated by neighbouring gentry. In 1320 papal legates were instructed to see that the goods of the Templars were transferred to the Hospitallers. Certain of their properties came into the hands of the Knights of St. John. At one time or another the Templars possessed some fifteen houses in Scotland.

This investigation confirms the conclusion now accepted by most historians, regarding the Templars generally, that they incurred the hatred of the other Orders and of parish priests by their aristocratic exclusiveness, and that the fatal attack upon them was mainly due to jealousy and cupidity.

The Process in Latin is printed in *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, i. 6-16. See also *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 48, 64, 446; Bellesheim, ii. 21, iv. 425; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 382.

CHAPTER XV

A TESTING HALF-CENTURY

1329-1378

Depression of the country and the papacy—Papal appointments to office—Dispensations from marriage laws—Method of levying funds—Royal encroachments—Impoverishment of Church—The clergy and their qualifications—Efficiency of Mendicants—Desire for learning—Barbour and Fordun—Religious temper of the times.

THE half-century following the death of Robert the Bruce was one of the dreariest and most dismal in the history of Scotland. It was a period of fighting in all parts of the land—indiscriminate fighting, scarcely redeemed from meagreness by a few stories of adventurous courage. Encounters with the freebooting northern lords and with the western Celts occupied the nation in the intervals of a war with England, which indeed was hardly suspended even in times of nominal truce. The Scottish disasters at Halidon Hill (1333) and Neville's Cross (1346) were followed by the eleven years' captivity of David II, Bruce's unworthy son and successor. After his liberation there came a time of discreditable hesitation in furnishing his ransom money. In 1371 he was succeeded by Robert II, the first of the Stewart dynasty, a peace-loving monarch, who in the second year of his reign strengthened the Scottish cause by an alliance with the French; but in 1378 the borderland was again devastated by open war. There was depression everywhere, with no brightness of any sort, and no promise except in the development of parliament as a national council and the steady rise of the burghs as social and political forces. The misery was perhaps most intense in 1350, when the Black Death swept away fully one-third of the population, but even without that calamity the annals of the nation are very dark.

In such times Churches are on their trial. Their healing and inspiring influences are tested. And the Church of Scotland was an entity which could be tested, being not only indisputably a national Church but fully reconciled to the papacy. The distress of the nation created a great opportunity. If the ministrations of religion had been carefully and wisely directed, the papal system would have been regarded with gratitude and might have secured a permanent hold of the heart of the nation.

The papacy, however, was at a low ebb. It was domiciled at Avignon, save for three years (1367-70) when Urban V made an unsuccessful attempt at residence in Rome. Of the six popes who held office, three, Benedict XII, Urban V and Gregory XI, were men of high character and serious purpose; but they had to contend with insuperable difficulties. Their entourage at Avignon, described by Petrarch as 'a seat of demons, a sink of every vice that bears a name,' was at its best intensely secular in its pomp and reckless in its cupidity. All six popes were Frenchmen, at the mercy of the freaks and partialities of French diplomacy. In their official life there was rarely room for an attempt at moral rectitude or spiritual independence. While the papal system was everywhere in discredit, its authority was openly disavowed in many quarters. Strife with Lewis the Bavarian culminated in a declaration by the Electors of the Empire (in 1338) that papal confirmation was not essential to an emperor's divine title. William of Occam set forth the thesis that State powers are independent not only of popes but of Church Councils. A reformation movement took shape in Bohemia through the preaching of Milicz at Prag. The mysticism of Eckhart's pupil, Suso, and of Tauler furnished the devout with a welcome refuge from Roman priestcraft. England definitely rebelled against papal intrusions and exactions, and in 1372 sent Wyclif to Bruges to defend the cause of the English nation against the popes. In Italy the very States of the Church broke loose, and the claim for Italian unity—not to be realized for five centuries—for a time forbade the popes to sit in St. Peter's Chair. Amidst these contentions, which even if less urgent would fully have occupied the Avignon diplomatists, it is not strange that the Church affairs of Scotland received little attention. It was a time when, in the words of an impartial Roman Catholic historian,[1] 'respect for the papacy was destroyed and the authority of the Holy See was weakened.' The revolt against Rome did not indeed find voice in Scotland. A clause in the Coronation Oath taken by David II in 1329 bound the king 'to root out all heretics,'[2] but no trace of heresy appeared to test his fidelity or that of his successor. Until 1378 the title of Rome was unchallenged in Scotland, although her administrative incapacity was exhibited from year to year.

When war with England broke out in 1333, there were several papal attempts at intervention in the interests of peace. Both John XXII and Benedict XII repeatedly wrote letters and sent nuncios on the subject.[3] Although they recommended that there should be concessions on both sides, their disposition was to favour the cause of England and, in particular, Benedict XII more than once urged the king of France not to lend assistance to Scotland. In 1340, when a plan for a French invasion of England by way of Scotland took shape, he protested with special vehemence.[4] Even after the English king and parliament had revolted against the papal administration, this attitude was maintained. It is true that, when David II was imprisoned, Clement VI endeavoured to secure his liberation,[5] but his successor Innocent VI, at a time when Edward was ravaging Scotland, publicly addressed him as 'king' of the country[6] and declined to sanction the obligations undertaken by the Scottish prelates for David's ransom.[7] The only other voluntary intervention of the popes in the public affairs of the Church or the nation was in 1370, when parliament divorced David II from Margaret Logie, his second wife. The case was considered by the Curia and the divorce was annulled.[1]

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[1] Alzog, *Universal Church History* (English translation), iii. 22.
[2] Theiner, p. 245; Raynald, ad an. 1329.
[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 511, 558, 559; Theiner, pp. 259, 260, 264-6, 271.
[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 587; cf. iii. 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 33.
[6] *Ibid.*, iii. 579; Hume Brown, i. 176.
[7] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 595; Theiner, p. 312.

Apart from these interventions in politics, papal authority was exercised in certain branches of administration. The official records (*Regesta*) of the Vatican, which have recently become accessible,[2] disclose the steady operation of Roman agencies in three principal activities—making appointments to Church offices, granting privileges to individuals on petition, and levying funds for papal purposes.

1. The custom of 'reserving provision' to bishoprics, initiated by John XXII,[3] was developed with the steady caution of a deliberate policy. The popes claimed a right to declare with regard to any particular bishopric that when it fell vacant they would select a new bishop. They seem to have made such a declaration with regard to all the Scottish bishoprics.[4] At first it was disregarded by the Chapters, which filled up vacancies without consulting the Pope and left the bishop-elect to apply to the Pope for confirmation. The papal method of dealing with applications so made was to annul the election, with the assent of the applicant, and to issue a statement that the Chapter had made the election in ignorance of the fact that the bishopric was 'reserved,' but

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[1] This matter, which has perplexed historians, is made clear by the Papal Registers. David had died before the Curia reached a decision; but Pope Gregory XI insisted that Robert II should deal with Margaret Logie as David's widow, restoring her lands and rights. This, of course, implied the annulling of the divorce.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 94, 99, 120, 129.

[2] The papal archives were laid open by order of Pope Leo XIII. Histories written before the publication of the *Calendar of Papal Registers* either ignore this period entirely or indulge in sentimentalities with regard to it. Thus Dr. John Cunningham in his *History of the Church of Scotland* (i. 127), written in 1859, merely moralizes upon its 'calm scenes and useful labours now sunk in oblivion . . . bishops and priests quietly performing their sacred offices.' Bellesheim (ii. 29) says little more than that the erection of a collegiate church shows that 'religion still exercised an influence on men's hearts.'

[3] See page 265.

[4] Documentary evidence exists in regard to Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness and Whithorn.—Theiner, pp. 289, 292, 294, 308, 309, 331, 333; *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 351. St. Andrews had been 'reserved' at an earlier date. A bishop of Argyll, however, was elected in 1344 by the clergy of the 'city and diocese of Argyll.'

that the Pope, being satisfied with the qualifications of the said candidate, appointed him to the vacancy and granted him confirmation. Only twice were the nominees of Chapters set aside by popes, the obvious intention being to build up a claim for future use. There is no indication that the method taken gave offence. Gradually and surely the papal claim made way, without evoking any protest like the Statute of Provisors by which in 1351 England repelled a similar intrusion.

Such caution or moderation was not shown with regard to other Church offices. Deaneries, canonries, prebends, rectories and vicarages were granted lavishly to petitioners who held other offices besides those for which they petitioned. Frequently the petition was presented to the Pope by the king of France, whose intervention in Scottish Church affairs is a noteworthy feature of this period, betokening the rise of an eventful relationship between the two nations. In a single year[1] he is recorded to have secured appointments to four Scottish canonries. Indeed there is scarcely a year between 1337 and 1375 when the influence of France over the Curia is not disclosed by such appointments. Many of the clergy thus appointed were foreigners, either Frenchmen or Italians. A Frenchman, for example, received canonries at Glasgow, Ross and Aberdeen in addition to a canonry at Dunbar;[2] a prior of the Sorbonne who held a living in St. Andrews diocese was made canon of Moray;[3] and a canon of Amiens, who was clerk and counsellor of the French king, was allowed to draw the revenues of the rectory of Hawick for seven years without being ordained.[4] Of twenty-one papal provisions and collations made between 1357 and 1361, no fewer than eight were made to foreigners.[5] A genial judgment may suggest that in those rough days it was good for the Scots to have some mannerly Frenchmen and Italians among their clergy; but unfortunately the foreigners made no acquaintance with their charges. In 1363 the Bishop of

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[1] Viz. 1350.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 364, 392, 414; *Petitions*, i. 201.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 545.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 152.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 324-6.

Glasgow represented to the Pope that 'the multitude of those who expected benefices by papal authority' prevented him from providing for his staff, and actually requested leave to appoint his secretary to a canonry in his own cathedral.[1]

Papal sanction was required when a man desired to hold 'incompatible' benefices, *i.e.* benefices which according to Church law ought not to be combined because their duties could not adequately be discharged by the same person. The Papal Registers record the granting of eighty-one such petitions in Scottish cases between 1329 and 1378. Many of the petitioners already held several 'incompatible' offices besides the one for which the petition is made. Thus one man is allowed to add a canonry of Moray to canonries of Dunkeld, Glasgow and Dunblane and the vicarage of Abernethy;[2] another, to add a canonry of Glasgow to the deanery of Aberdeen and canonries of Moray and Caithness;[3] another, to add the deanery of Aberdeen to canonries of Ross, Dunkeld and Abernethy;[4] another, to add the deanery of Caithness to canonries of Brechin and Moray and the charge of a hospital;[5] another, to add a rectory in the St. Andrews diocese to a canonry at Aberdeen and the treasurership of Moray cathedral.[6] As a rule petitions were granted *simpliciter*, but occasionally there was a reserve. When a claimant for the deanery of Aberdeen, who has a 'provision' for a canonry of Moray, petitions for a canonry and prebend at Glasgow, his petition is granted on condition that he resigns one of his offices.[7] A petitioner for a canonry and prebend at Aberdeen, who already holds posts in two cathedrals, represents to the Pope that the present occupant of the office for which he petitions holds four other canonries. The petition is granted on the ground that these four canonries yield an annual income of 400 marks and that the Aberdeen benefice is worth only 50 marks[8]—a clear indication that, if the interests of Church work and life were ignored, the gifts bestowed on individuals were measured. There is one gruff entry which discloses the personality of Urban V. To a petition for the removal of a clause in a former grant, which required the petitioner to resign one of his benefices, the austere Pope replies, 'You will not deceive me in the matter of plurality, but resign as was ordered.'[1] Such an entry is inconsistent with the idea, put forth recently by apologists for the methods of the Curia, that pluralities were not in practice hurtful to the Church.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 400.
[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 363.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 102.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 290.
[5] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 256; *Letters*, iii. 594.
[6] *Ibid.*, iii. 425.
[7] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 480.
[8] *Ibid.*, i. 527.

With growing frequency sanction was given to the appointment of youths under the canonical age, and even mere boys, to canonries and rectories, sometimes on condition of an annual payment to the papal camera.[2] Such beneficiaries were, of course, unordained, and except twice or thrice no provision was made for 'cure of the souls' of parishioners. Thus a rector, who in 1332 was instituted to the church of Dalry, Galloway, at the age of twelve, held the living for fifteen years unordained; and forty-seven years later it was represented to the Pope that the living was still held by an unordained man.[3] Many of those youthful canons and rectors were students at foreign universities, livings being granted them, in accordance with a practice which had grown in other countries,[4] in order to defray the cost of their studies. The rector of Douglas was allowed to draw the revenue of the parish for three years while at a university.[5] A medical graduate and scholar of theology at the University of Paris received a canonry of Glasgow in addition to a benefice in that diocese.[6] A 'student at Paris' appears in the records as vicar both of Musselburgh and Rosemarkie.[7] These examples are types of what became a recognized custom. The petitioners indeed were frequently not the students but the universities, which regarded parochial funds in Scotland as scholarships at the disposal of the Pope. Again and again Paris, Montpellier and Orleans presented petitions for the allocation of Scottish benefices to their students, and the requests were granted without any indication that provision was made for the needs of the parishes affected. To take a single year as an example: in 1378, the last year with which this chapter deals, Orleans University petitioned for three livings in Scotland, Montpellier for nine and Paris for fourteen, the livings desired being specified in some cases, the dioceses and the amount (usually £40 sterling) in others.[1]

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 476. Although the petition was in the name of David II, the reply was addressed to the beneficiary.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 224, 262; *Petitions*, i. 145, 304. The rector of Linton, who was under age, was required to pay into the papal camera one-fourth of his drawings for ten years.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 361; *Petitions*, i. 540.

[4] In England, before this period, a bishop was authorized to grant a licence or non-residence for seven years, while the incumbent was qualifying himself at an approved university.—Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 238.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 172.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 525.

[7] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 188.

2. The desire to secure personal religious privileges from the Pope was very slight in this period. Between twenty and thirty individuals applied for leave to receive plenary remission from their confessors in the hour of death, three petitioned for the privilege of having portable altars, and only once, in 1359, was a petition presented for permission to travel to the Holy Land—a striking contrast to the multitude of such requests which reached Avignon from England. But it was very different with regard to dispensation from the laws of marriage. Rarely a year passed without the transmission of some requests from persons related 'within the forbidden degrees' either to be allowed to marry or for sanction of marriage already effectuated. Between 1334 and 1378 fifty-eight such requests were conceded. The social station of the petitioners and the pleas by which their petitions were supported are suggestive. Eleven of the petitioners are noblemen or lairds in the central and western highlands, the plea urged being that the marriage will be politically or socially valuable, by checking clan feuds. Twelve petitions are granted either to royal parties or at royal request. Indeed only in eleven

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 537, 545-6, 549. These petitions were granted by the Antipope Clement VII; but those granted between 1340 and 1378, as recorded in *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. and iv., are innumerable, and some are very strange. In 1344 a law-student asks to be dispensed for having drawn the fruits of a living when under age. His petition is granted on condition that he pays one-fourth of the illegal fruits for a subsidy against the Turks.—*C.P.R. Petitions*, i. 80.

cases do the supplicants not belong to the nobility. More than two-thirds of the petitions state that the parties are already living in wedlock and have had children, but that they have discovered the existence of a relationship which makes their marriage invalid. A petition of 1353 pleads that it is not possible in the diocese of Brechin to find persons of rank who are not in some way related to one another,[1] and in 1366 'John and Mariota Cambel' allege that highlanders cannot marry lowlanders owing to the difference of language.[2] There are curious disclosures of the coarseness of social life among persons of title. In 1347 the kings of France and Scotland and seven Scottish bishops support a petition from Robert the Steward for leave to marry one of two girls, cousins, with whom he has lived, and allege that the children sprung from the intercourse are 'fair to behold';—a dispensation is granted on condition that Robert founds one or more chapelries.[3] A petition of 1334 states that 'owing to the death of many nobles in the realm many noble ladies are unmarried or are married to low-born Englishmen, some of whom are apostates or have other wives.'[4] In 1344 John Douglas represents that he has been living for three years with Agnes Graham and now wishes to marry her, but that he once committed sin with her aunt. He is thus unable to marry, and a contention has arisen between his kinsmen and the kinsmen of Agnes. The Pope in consideration of these facts grants the dispensation, on condition that John, within two years, founds two chaplaincies with an endowment of ten marks sterling, and that, if he survives Agnes, he will not marry again.[5] Similarly, when the Countess of Menteith is allowed to contract a marriage—her third—with the son of Robert the Steward, it is stipulated that 'the parties shall found a chapel and endow it with twelve marks a year.'[6] The popes cannot be held responsible for the fact that very young children were sometimes married by priests.[1] Yet when such a case came before Pope Innocent VI, an almost incredible indulgence was shown towards a hideous form of incest.[2] It may be that there was more fidelity and purity among those who could not afford to send proctors to Avignon and to endow chaplaincies; but in any case the working of such agencies and largesses was well known throughout Scotland.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 514; Theiner, p. 305.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 56.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 124.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 413.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 79; *Letters*, iii. 165; Theiner, p. 282.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 376.

3. The revenues accruing from fees paid for those dispensations and from payments made by applicants for confirmation in office must have been considerable. A bishop of Dunkeld required to borrow 5000 gold crowns in order to defray expenses he had incurred at Avignon, and was allowed, in accordance with the pernicious usage previously described, to burden the churches in his diocese to that amount.[3] A bishop of Moray who failed to pay the fees claimed was suspended and excommunicated until he made payment.[4] Apart from such special payments, assessments were laid upon the whole Church, sometimes as Peter's Pence, sometimes as a subsidy against 'heretics,' sometimes for special 'crusades.' At the beginning of David's reign payment was made willingly. While David himself contributed 12,000 florins as a 'debt from his father,'[5] the bishops were eager, both in tendering gifts from their own revenues and in assisting the papal nuncios to raise the levies imposed; but that wave of generosity was soon spent. Before 1355 difficulties arose, in Scotland as in England. Benedict XII had to remonstrate that his emissaries were hindered in their collecting, and he came to suspect his own agents of neglect and dishonesty.[6] When remonstrances failed, he initiated a custom, developed by his successors, of granting a permanent position and special ecclesiastical powers to a nuncio as chief Collector. The

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[1] In 1345 a boy of eight and a girl of ten were married in church.

[2] The details are given in *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 524.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 173, 264; Theiner, p. 281. In 1351 the Bishop of Ross was allowed to incur a similar debt.—*Ibid.*, p. 296; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 388.

[4] *Regist. Episc. Morav.*, pp. 161-4.

[5] Lang supposes that this was a payment for David's anointment, but David's own words are explicit.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 559; Theiner, p. 270. Cf. *Letters*, ii. 590.

nuncio, who was rarely a bishop,[1] was enriched and bound to the Curia by a large number of pluralities, and was entitled to visit with ecclesiastical censures persons of 'the highest, even of pontifical, rank' who hindered his collecting.[2] His powers enabled him to grant religious immunities and dispensations in any diocese without the assent of its bishop and, by the appointment of local sub-collectors responsible to him alone, to create a strong, elastic agency which made payments direct to the financial agents of the papacy at Bruges and Florence. The most conspicuous of these nuncios was William Greenlaw,[3] who held the office from 1353 till 1373. Greenlaw was canon of Aberdeen, dean of Glasgow, archdeacon of Embrun, canon of Moray and archdeacon of St. Andrews, besides holding many untitled benefices. His special privileges, granted by a succession of papal letters, were practically unlimited. He could dispense, depose, repone on his own authority. He was specially commissioned to king and nobles. The bishops were enjoined to co-operate with him; it was through him not through them, that the Pope's claims and commands were enforced. Greenlaw seems to have been an able and trustworthy administrator, although after his death Pope Gregory XI had suspicions of his honour. His skill was indicated by contrast with the blundering of his successor, John Peblys, or Peebles. Peblys was as highly favoured, but he misjudged the times, the nation and especially the bishops. In 1375 he granted a postponement of certain heavy payments; but the papal exchequer was strained by the struggles with the Italian States and in 1377 Peblys, revoking the postponement, insisted that the payment must be made within two months.[4] The pressure brought a crisis. Peblys himself escaped into a bishopric, but his blunder had disastrous and far-reaching results. It was the year before the Great Schism and, when the Schism was made in 1378, Scotland, the 'special daughter' of the Pope, declared for the Antipope.[1] Many influences contributed to this choice; the maladministration which we have sketched had loosened the allegiance of churchmen, but undoubtedly the motive force lay in the indignation of the impoverished country against an unreasoning claim for funds. It was a claim made by authorities who had shown no zeal except in exacting money, and had busied themselves with the suspension not with the enforcement of Church laws. The resentment was not against Scottish churchmen. On the contrary, they as the chief land-owners had suffered most from the assessment. To a large extent the choice of the Antipope was a rebellion of the clergy against Rome.

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[1] In 1345 a bishop of Aberdeen was made Collector.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 18.

[2] Theiner, p. 300.

[3] The references to Greenlaw in the Papal Registers are innumerable. The following will probably be sufficient to substantiate the above statements: *Letters*, iii. 341, 476, 483, 484, 503, 510, 610, 614, 617, 634, iv. 71, 83, 108, 121, 148, 151; *Petitions*, i. 409; Theiner, pp. 300, 304, 349.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 501, 546, iv. 83, 112, 153, 158, 195.

The papacy, however, was not the only force by which the Church was injured. Indeed some of the mischief done at Avignon came from the yielding of the Curia to influences put forth by the king of Scotland and his household. The encroachments of David II upon Church properties and patronage were incessant, and in his wife Joan, sister of Edward III, he had, until her death in 1362, an unscrupulous ally. A considerable proportion of the pluralities which received papal sanction were requested by the king or queen on behalf of their kindred or their favourites. In the records of almost every year such petitions as these are recorded: 'Joan, queen of Scotland, petitions on behalf of her servant, John de Mair, papal chaplain, for a canonry of Glasgow . . . notwithstanding that at her instance he has already been appointed to the church of Kynneff and the rectory of Ellon'; 'Patrick de Bothwell, recommended to the Pope by the aunt of the king of Scotland, that he may hold a benefice, although under age, with a canonry of Dunkeld'; 'the king's kinsman, to draw the revenues of the church of Douglas, while studying at the university.'[2] The custom by no means ended with Joan and her husband. A petition granted in 1375 to

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[1] Peblys concurred in the decision; he was Chancellor of the kingdom in 1378, perhaps earlier.—*Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 67-8.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 113, 116; *Letters*, iii. 172.

Charles V of France on behalf of a candidate for ordination, promotion and '. . . any benefices whatsoever . . . even if one of them be episcopal,' frankly states that the candidate is the natural son of Robert II.[1] The number of these kinsmen of the royal family who were 'dispensed from a defect of birth' shows that Church benefices had become the recognized method of providing for illegitimate children.

Another encroachment of the Crown was met with feeble opposition. In accordance with a feudal usage against which popes had protested in the thirteenth century,[2] Scottish kings claimed and exercised a right to the movable estate of deceased bishops. Through influences which cannot be discovered, David II,[3] with the approval of his parliament, surrendered the right, allowing bishops to dispose of their goods by testament, and in 1372 the enactment received papal sanction.[4] Tradition, however, proved stronger than law. In defiance of an excommunicatory Bull,[5] the king's officials continued to lay hands on the estates of bishops on their death. In this as in other matters the Church as an institution showed itself to be deplorably weak. The failure of the papal government was in such matters negative rather than positive, arising from its inability to counteract secular influences.

When we turn to the Church as actually at work, the picture presented by surviving records is such as might be expected from the state of the nation and the inadequacy of the Roman administration. Two meetings of the Provincial Council are mentioned, but neither of them had any significance for the Church. The one, held in Edinburgh in 1357, was occupied with the provision of a ransom for the king;[6]

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 215.

[2] The 'ius spolii' claimed by emperors over the estates of bishops had been abrogated by Otto IV (1209-18), but the abuse continued and helped to alienate the German clergy from the emperors. See below, Chapter XVI.

[3] *Register of Great Seal*, i. 77; *Scotichronicon*, xiv. 42. By a *compulsitor* of the years 1371-7 Robert indicates a desire to protect Church properties.—Patrick, *Statutes*, pp. 224-5.

[4] Theiner, p. 346.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 353; *Statuta*, cii.

[6] *Acts of Parl.*, i. 155; Hailes, iii. 223, 248. Joseph Robertson holds that the ten bishops, who became surety for 100,000 merks, did not meet separately as a Council.—*Statuta*, lxxvi. f.

the other, held at Aberdeen in 1359, left no record of its proceedings except its attestation of a twelfth-century papal Bull.[1] The Aberdeen canons of that time fought a stout battle in resisting an attempt of the king to force one of his French favourites upon them as bishop, but they fought their battle without any support from the Church or its bishops.[2] The personal wealth of bishops and abbots increased; in the middle of the fourteenth century the clergy held three-tenths of the taxable land in Scotland.[3] Yet they made no attempt to combine and co-operate in the interests of religion. While they gained wealth, the Church as a ministering agency was impoverished.

The impoverishment was to some extent due to the devastations of English invaders. In 1356 Edward III, when at Roxburgh, was so enraged by the skilful resistance of the Scots that he laid numberless church fabrics in ruins, including the famous church of Haddington, known as the Lamp of Lothian from the beacon-light it supplied to voyagers on the Firth of Forth. The date of this destructive campaign, which had several parallels,[4] was marked in Scottish tradition as 'the Burnt Candlemas.' Far more damaging was the social disorder of the whole land, which led laymen to withhold payment of Church dues and frequently gave occasion to gross outrage. In 1350 the Bishop of Moray complained that it was 'a most evil custom in Scotland' that 'nobles and powerful men in their journeyings occupied the canons' houses and ate and slept therein, driving out their households to the injury of the canons and danger of burning the cathedral.'[5] While his cathedral 'fell into ruin by neglect and incursions,' that of Dunkeld was 'much wasted by wars and pestilences.' The disorder was not confined to the north. In 1332 the Bishop of St. Andrews fled from his diocese 'for fear of the English.' After his flight the see was left vacant for nine years, and under his successor the cathedral was destroyed by fire. The nuns of North Berwick were shamefully molested by the neighbouring nobles; and some apostate friars of Berwick and Roxburgh carried off the friary properties, handing them over to the monks of Kelso.[1] The special destitution of the Dunkeld canons is recorded;[2] and in 1375 it was found necessary to reduce the number of canons of Abernethy from ten to five, owing to the financial straits of that ancient foundation.[3] The abbeys also were sorely straitened. Kilwinning and Dunfermline were unable to maintain their payments to the churches which were dependent upon them, while the monks of Holyrood and Lindores were in positive destitution.[4] From rectors and vicars throughout Scotland piteous complaints were raised that they received 'little or no fruits.' In 1350 the Bishop of Moray, having 'seventeen residential chaplains who could not live on their stipends,' laid hold upon the revenues of 'poor churches' in his diocese for their support, and two years later fourteen vicars presented a formal statement that they were 'unable to live' on the allowance given them by the abbey of Arbroath.[5] The most hurtful aspect of the situation was that the 'churches' always suffered most. When abbeys and cathedrals were in need, the recognized method of relief was to 'appropriate' a few more churches.[6]

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[1] *Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, i. 86.

[2] *Lives of Bishops of Aberdeen* (New Spalding Club), p. 22.

[3] Cochran-Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 94.

[4] *E.g.* the abbey of Cambuskenneth, injured by wars and fire.—*C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 475.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 200.

Of new donations to the Church there was an almost complete dearth. In 1348 the Earl of Fife founded a convent of Dominicans at Cupar; in 1364 David II bestowed some lands upon Aberdeen cathedral for the foundation of a chapel; in 1373 the Earl of Galloway gave a hospital and certain other favours to the priory of Holywood.[1] The collegiate church of Dunbar was erected in 1342 by the Earl of March,[2] and between 1360 and 1373 several donations were made to friaries and abbeys. With these exceptions the agencies of the Church elicited no liberality. A prolonged endeavour to rescue the properties of the Knights Templars from the grasp of a kinsman of the king only emphasizes the insecurity of Church property and the inability of the papal authorities to cope with lay aggressions.[3]

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 503, iv. 212; Theiner, p. 355; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, p. 27.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 66.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 215. Abernethy had canons, as being a 'collegiate' church.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 532; Theiner, p. 362; *Chart. of Lindores*, p. 175. The Dunfermline monks exasperated the clergy by charging double fares at the Royal Ferry.—Theiner, p. 326.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 200, 235.

[6] Thus the churches of Beith, Kilmarnock, Dumbarton and three other parishes, including one in the Isle of Arran, were in this period appropriated to Kilwinning, which was also allowed to reduce its payments to vicars. When the Bishop of Argyll was in difficulties, he appropriated the tithes and fruits of three churches belonging to Paisley abbey.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 311, 358, iv. 179; Theiner, pp. 247, 347; *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 382.

The ministrations of the priesthood were inevitably irregular, and irregularities were not checked by supervision. There was, indeed, a dearth of acting priests. When livings were held by laymen without provision for the cure of souls, the parishes were of course practically vacant; but, even when it was open to bishops to institute working clergy, candidates were hard to find, especially after the ravages of the Black Death.[4] The result was a hazardous lowering of standard. Ordination was conferred upon men under the canonical age and men who had 'a defect of birth,' not only where kings and barons petitioned on behalf of their offspring, but where, without the assistance of irregulars, there could be no dispensation of sacraments. The character of priests so ordained may be inferred from the frequency with which petitions for ordination were transmitted to Avignon on behalf of 'sons of priests.' Although a few of these petitioners applied for higher offices,[5] the plea usually was for permission to minister to rural churches. Thus in 1345 the Bishop of Dunkeld secured papal sanction for the ordination of six sons of priests, six sons of deacons and six other persons who had the 'natal defect.'[6] That in such cases the names of individuals were not quoted, shows that the Church authorities were well aware of the meaning of 'clerical celibacy,' the offspring of priests being a recognized fact in every diocese. In this matter Scotland did not differ from England and Ireland. In 1349 the Bishop of Worcester, who had applied for leave to ordain eighty illegitimate persons to hold a benefice apiece, was allowed to ordain ten sons of priests, deacons or sub-deacons with twenty other bastards.[1] In 1351 the Archbishop of Armagh was authorized to ordain twenty illegitimate sons of married persons or of priests, and forty sons of unmarried persons, each to a single benefice.[2]

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 90, 187; *Petitions*, i. 144.

[2] As to the distinctive character of collegiate churches, most of which were fifteenth-century foundations, see Chapter XVI.

[3] These contentions lasted from 1356 till 1375.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 619, iv. 65, 105, 110, 131, 135, 140, 141, 146, 205; Theiner, pp. 310, 325, 352.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 476.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 350, 438; cf. 111, 475.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 169.

While in these respects the deterioration of the priesthood was widespread, it must not be supposed that it was universal, or that endeavours were not frequently made to secure efficiency. A bishop of Moray, when presenting one such petition, gives the Pope assurance that the young men for whom he pleads have been well brought up and have not inherited their fathers' loose morals.[3] The attainments of candidates were sometimes subjected to a test. One candidate in the diocese of Dunkeld is told that he must pass 'the usual examination in Latin,' and another that he must be 'found fit after a diligent examination.' When a bishop of the Isles supports a petition by the plea that he can find few literate persons to hold benefices,[4] and the authorities guard the admission of a monk to the Iona monastery by the proviso that he must be 'found fit by a bishop, an abbot and a prior,'[5] it is clear that even in remote districts there was an ideal of tested qualifications. With regard to the higher offices, there are numerous signs of an endeavour to make the ideal effective. A canon of Moray is required before institution to be 'examined in Arts at the Roman Court and found sufficient,' and a canon of Ross is stated to have qualified for office as a student of canon law.[6] Occasionally when a benefice was assigned to a layman the condition was laid down that, if he did not undertake the cure of souls, he should draw only part of the fruits of the benefice; and the Aberdonians in 1366 adopted a regulation that absentee canons should be mulcted in one-seventh of their stipends, the fines being divided among the canons who kept residence.[1] The bishops themselves were in several cases men of learning and distinction. We read of one bishop of Moray who before consecration had held the high office of Vicar in Spirituals at Rouen, and of another who was a licentiate of Orleans and a graduate of Paris.[2] Walter Wardlaw, the foremost churchman of the time, who became bishop of Glasgow in 1367, was a conspicuous scholar. At the University of Paris, where he lectured for many years, he repeatedly was appointed Master of the English Nation, and was held in such respect by the students that he was deputed to represent their cause before the Pope.[3]

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 186.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 207.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 302; Theiner, p. 249.

[4] *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 285.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iii. 490, iv. 216; Theiner, p. 356.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, ii. 358, iii. 480, iv. 199, 226.

There are tokens that in this period the Mendicant friars were more efficient than either secular priests or monks and rendered, in certain directions, better service both to Church and to country. The Dominicans, apart from their work in the friaries already enumerated, lent valuable assistance in some outlying districts. The Franciscans, although they had fewer friaries, had greater influence owing to their activity in national affairs. We have seen that they espoused the cause of Robert Bruce at an early stage, and that he rewarded them by special donations. After his death they were constituted a separate vicariate, wholly detached from the Grey Friars of England, and they used the liberty which this privilege conferred in strenuous service of the patriotic cause. So vigorous were they that Edward III declared, at Halidon Hill, that the resistance of the Scots had been 'in no small measure due to their preaching under a fictitious garb of sanctity.' He banished the Berwick friars and filled their places with Englishmen, but this drastic treatment failed to check the Franciscans. They retained the favour of the Pope, and, although attempts were made in England and in Italy to subject them to English authority, they maintained their independence[1] and used it in defence of Scottish interests, so that their friaries suffered specially in the wars. They found favour with the leaders of the nation by their enterprising spirit and their special faculties for diplomatic service. From the king and the nobility they received more gifts than any of the monastic Orders. Their headquarters were at Dundee, where they had established a school, and the Dundee friary was frequently used for public and even for State assemblages. About 1375 this friary came under the direction of a Father Rossy, who had been a successful lecturer in theology at Paris and now became prominent in statecraft. The versatility of the Grey Friars appears in the fact that in the days of Rossy one was appointed as the first 'king's limner'; at an earlier stage another had received a pension for engineering skill shown in defence of Dumbarton castle. No doubt such employments involved a grave departure from the ideals of St. Francis, but it cannot be supposed that all friars plied secular vocations. There are records of zeal shown by Mendicants in preaching to townsmen in market-places and in dispensing sacraments in lonely cottages. Their numbers were small; probably there were not more than fifty Franciscans in all Scotland, and their friaries were confined to three dioceses.[2] Yet where they went they discharged duties which parish priests neglected, making a real contribution to the religion of the nation.

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[1] *Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, ii. 57. Similar regulations had been passed, if not enforced, a century earlier at Glasgow and Elgin.—Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 77.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 76, 256.

[3] *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 314-16.

Even in those troublous times, the desire for learning and culture gradually spread and was fostered by parliament, which repeatedly made grants from the exchequer to poor scholars. Young men in great numbers made their way to French and English universities. At Paris, although as we have seen some holders of Scottish benefices were Frenchmen and Italians, many of the beneficiaries must have been Scots, for a large proportion of the 'English Nation'[1] at the University were of Scottish birth. Still larger was the number at the English universities. In 1359 Edward III granted a licence to Scotsmen to study either at Oxford or at Cambridge; and Oxford, which was at that time full of progressive life, proved specially attractive. In one year (1365) passports were granted to eighty-one Scottish students entitling them to journey to Oxford.[2] Some of them went singly, others in parties of three or six under the guidance of a clerical tutor, who might be a dean or canon and often took several parties in succession.[3] At Oxford they adhered to the *factio borealis*, which supported Wyclif in his resistance to the monastic Orders and the papacy. In the years covered by this chapter Wyclif's contentions had not taken a theological character,[4] and there is no reason for thinking that the young Scots at Oxford were in rebellion against the Church. At the same time they brought the Scottish mind into contact with ideas for which Scotland had not yet found a home, and the result of that contact was bound to appear in the following generation.

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[1] The Scottish vicariate was suppressed in 1359, but before 1375 it was revived.

[2] Only one Franciscan friary (Lanark) was founded in this period. In 1337 Roxburgh had only four friars. The average at a friary may have been nine or ten.

Among the tutors who repeatedly escorted parties of young Scotsmen to Oxford occurs the name of the only churchman of the period, except Wardlaw, who made any approach to eminence, John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*, a patriotic poem celebrating the praises of the national hero, and of other works now lost. Barbour, who was born between 1316 and 1320, studied at Oxford and Paris, and in 1357 held the office of archdeacon of Aberdeen. But his life was that of a student. Besides his tutorial visits to Oxford, he paid two visits to France in prosecution of research, and his epic, which was completed in 1376, procured for him a pension, which Robert II, after the method of the times, assigned to him from the revenues of Aberdeen cathedral. He amassed a considerable amount of information on classical and post-classical subjects, and he portrays Bruce with ardent patriotism and a genuine love for liberty. He was an earnest churchman, and proved the sincerity of his beliefs by devoting his pension to the endowment of masses for his soul.[1] Yet he did not concern himself in religious or ethical problems, and he was untouched by those large thoughts and deep emotions which glorified his great southern contemporaries.[2] His chief significance lies in his exhibition of the rise of native talent in a rugged, barren soil and of the Scottish language in its infancy.[3]

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[1] The students at Paris, as at Glasgow University until quite recently, were classified in four 'Nations' according to their birthplace. The English Nation included students from the north and east of Europe and from Germany.—Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in Middle Ages*, i. 319, 402.

[2] Lists are given in the *Rotuli Scotiae*, a collection of safe-conducts issued by the English kings.

[3] In 1357 and 1373 parties came from Aberdeen, Glasgow, Govan, Tiningham and Carrie.

[4] Lindsay speaks of Oxford as 'seething with lollardy' in this period.—*History of the Reformation*, ii. 276. Lollardy will be dealt with in a later chapter.

More instructive as to the course of religious thought is a Collection of Sacred Legends made by a 'mynistere of haly kirke' in 'great elde and febilnes,' which until recently was ascribed to Barbour.[4] It is a rhyming narrative of the miraculous deeds of fifty saints including the Apostles, based mainly upon the Golden Legend but drawing also upon other sources. Although written in verse, it is not poetical. Due prominence is given to the dignity of St. Peter's Chair, to the worth of the Benedictions and the learning of Rome, to the grace of the episcopal office and to the godliness of a proper tonsure. The selection of saints is remarkable. Of the fifty selected, only two are Scottish, St. Ninian and St. Machar. St. Martin is mentioned in the course of the St. Ninian legend. With these exceptions, the collection has a distinctly eastern character. Not another saint whose home was west of Rome is included; and among the

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[1] His pension was increased in 1388; he died in 1396.

[2] Hume Brown, i. 183. Neither his imaginative nor his literary faculties entitle him to be called 'the father of Scottish poetry.'

[3] Until the middle of the fifteenth century 'Early Scots' differed little from the dialect spoken in Northumbria.—*Cambridge History of Literature*, ii. 88-91.

[4] The most serviceable edition is Horstmann's *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, Heilbronn, 1881.

Roman saints St. Gregory is omitted, and indeed St. Laurence is the latest named. On the other hand, there is a whole series of Greek saints, such as St. Alexis, St. Placidas, St. Pelagia and St. Thekla, unfamiliar in the Latin Church. Such a selection cannot be pressed as proof of an organic connexion between Scottish and Oriental Christianity. Yet it indicates that in Scotland piety developed with some independence and was far from being a dim reflection of the religion of France and England. It is still more significant that in those days there was in Scotland a public prepared to read at such length about the saints.

In order to understand the religious temper which welcomed the Legends of the Saints, we must take into account the only other[1] assured writing of the same date, the *Chronicles* of John Fordun.[2] Fordun, who like Barbour was an Aberdeen churchman (a 'chantry priest') and wrote in the seventh or eighth decade of the century, composed a record of events from the beginning of things down to the death of David I. His purpose was to rival the claims to antiquity made for the English nation by the English chroniclers, and in particular to link the royal dynasty of Scotland to ancient Saxon monarchs through St. Margaret. He was laborious in his endeavours, travelling on foot to universities and monasteries in England and Ireland, and rescuing from oblivion some valuable materials for history; but he had nothing of the spirit of a scholar or an historian. Although he quotes the Fathers and the Latin classics, he moves in the region of unbridled invention and appeals to unreasoning patriotism. He derives the royal race of Scotland from a Greek prince, who married Scota, daughter of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and voyaged by way of Portugal to Scotland, to establish there a dynasty of which Malcolm

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[1] The *Scalacronica* was composed in Edinburgh in 1355, but the writer, Gray, was a Northumbrian and wrote in Norman-French. 'Huchoun of the Awle Ryale,' first mentioned by Wyntoun in 1420, may have been Sir Hew of Eglinton, who flourished from 1342 to 1376, but the identification is too uncertain to justify the use of it as history. For Wyntoun see below.

[2] Fordun's *Chronica* and his *Gesta Annalia*—materials collected by him for the completion of the *Chronica*—have been edited by Skene in the Historians of Scotland series. Skene dates Fordun's travels 1363-85 and his death 'about 1385.'

Canmore was eighty-sixth in succession. He describes Scotland as 'now by the help of God the chief kingdom of Britain, the largest island of Europe.' He tells how in the fourth century St. Regulus brought to Scotland from Patras three fingers, a kneecap and a tooth of St. Andrew, and how in the eighth century, when religion and literature were dead, two Scottish monks of matchless learning kindled the true light in France and Italy. He closes a lament over David I with a pedigree connecting the 'soir sanct' directly with Japhet, son of Noah. There is quite as absurd writing in the English chroniclers; but Scotland had no Piers Plowman, no Sir John Mandeville, no Romaunt of the Rose, no John Wyclif.

Yet Fordun alleges, no doubt correctly, that it was Walter Wardlaw, the learned bishop, who furnished him with David's pedigree. National sentiments, and beliefs of a crude and superstitious kind, were in possession of Scotland, each supporting the other. If national sentiments sought for and found support in religious beliefs, religious beliefs were maintained by national sentiments. Both Barbour and Fordun manifestly wrote for men who were eager for signs and wonders and acquiesced in the teaching of the Church without questioning. No distrust of papal doctrine was implied in acceptance of the Antipope. The control exercised by the popes over the ministering agencies of the Church had been so slight and faulty that the nation could face without serious anxiety another period of severance from Rome.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TIME OF THE GREAT SCHISM

1378-1424

Popes and antipopes—The effects of the Schism and its close—Lawlessness in Scotland—The administration of the antipopes—The Act of 1401—Trail's Synodal Statutes—The return to the true Pope—Erection of collegiate churches—The first Scottish University—Wyclif and Lollardy—Resby burned at Perth—The orthodoxy of the times—The character of popes and their authority.

THE Papal Schism and the Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basel, with which it closed, were momentous for Latin Christianity. In order to make clear the bearings of the crisis upon the Church in Scotland, a brief account must be given of the religious forces which were at work on the Continent.

After the Schism took place in 1378, there were two rival popes, the one residing at Avignon under French protection and influence, the other in Italy, exposed to the turmoil of warring Italian principalities and relying largely upon German and English support. In their rivalry no religious or ecclesiastical principle of any consequence was involved, although the Avignon popes are designated 'antipopes' and their rivals the 'true popes.' In fact, modern Romanists have given credit to the papacy for all that was creditable in the administration of either of the contending parties, and have denied papal responsibility for all that was discreditable in either. Upon the whole, the 'true popes' were inferior to the antipopes in personal character. The first of them, Urban VI, a tyrannical autocrat, strangled several of his own cardinals in prison, and proved so intractable that for five years he could not reside at Rome, although the desire of the Romans for a resident pope was a principal cause of the Schism. His successor, Boniface IX, was noted for avarice, and showed no concern in the higher interests of the Church. At the Jubilee celebrations of 1400, devout pilgrims were startled to find that the Father of Christendom was secluded and besieged in the Vatican. Under Innocent VII, who was elected by only nine cardinals and showed no mental or moral fitness for his office, the hostility between the papal court and the Roman citizens developed into ruthless anarchy, amidst which the Vatican was sacked and Innocent fled from the city. He was succeeded by Gregory XII, who was deserted by all the cardinals and settled at Lucca, where his policy was regulated by the ambitious schemes of a nephew.

The antipopes who meanwhile ruled, so far as rule was possible, from Avignon, Clement VII and Benedict XIII, were personally free from most of the stains which disgraced their Italian rivals. Clement was a warrior both by training and by temperament, fond of display and overbearing towards his subordinates, but kindly at heart and possessed of some sense of honour. Although he was so much absorbed in contending for his place that he had little energy left for the discharge of its obligations, he may be held to have been worthy of the support which he received not only from France but from Naples, Savoy, Spain and Scotland. His successor, Benedict, had an agreeable and even attractive personality, but he was subtle and crafty. Before he had held office for four years, he had alienated the French government and was confined to his palace, where he was a virtual prisoner. In 1403 France returned for a time to allegiance to him ; but in that year he fled from Avignon and made his home at Nice, Genoa, Savona and Perpignan in turn, finally fortifying himself in the little coast town of Peniscola. These changes of residence deserve notice, because the only two nations which adhered to him in his wanderings were Aragon and Scotland, and many of the papal letters and orders, to which reference will be made presently, were issued by him during his exile. Yet his character and his fortunes have less importance for history than his method of administration, or rather the method of his court. Over his officials he exercised no control, rarely directing their decisions or checking their rapacity. His own secretary, a learned doctor of the University of Paris, who speaks of him personally with affectionate admiration, has left a gruesome picture of the venality and corruption of the Curia.

> 'In regard to the cure of souls nowadays, no mention is made of divine services or the salvation or edification of the people; the one question is about their revenues—not what a benefice supplies to a resident servant of the Church, but what it will yield to one who is far away and perhaps never intends to visit it. No one obtains a benefice without constant and repeated solicitation. The popes appoint ignorant and useless men, provided they can afford to pay large sums. . . . The papal claims for first-fruits have become intolerable. Papal collectors devastate the land . . . churches fall into ruins and the church-plate is sold. . . . Ecclesiastical causes are drawn into the papal court on every kind of pretext, and judgment is given in favour of those who pay the most. The Curia alone is rich, and benefices are heaped on cardinals, who devour their revenues in luxury and neglect their duty. . . . The study of Holy Writ and its professors are openly turned to ridicule, especially by the popes, who set up their traditions far above the divine commands. . . . This Schism is the scourge of God on these abuses and, unless a reformation be wrought, worse ills will follow and the Church will be destroyed.'[1]

These abuses had roused complaints for more than a century. They were aggravated by the Schism, which also of course lessened papal prestige and power. The administration of Avignon and of Rome gave equal offence. While England, by a new Statute of Provisors (1390), repudiated more vigorously than before the most obnoxious aggressions of Rome, and in central Europe indignation took shape in heresy, the complaints against Avignon found voice at the University of Paris, which in 1408 tore up one of Benedict's Bulls. The prevailing discontent led to a general demand that the one or the other of the rival popes should abdicate. That demand failing, a cry arose for a General Church Council, to restore unity and enforce reform. Both Pope and Antipope were deserted by their cardinals, and a Council held at Pisa in 1409 declared the papacy vacant and elected Alexander V to the vacancy. Neither Gregory nor Benedict paid heed to this decision; so that there were now three popes, each professing to occupy the Chair of St. Peter. Alexander V increased the confusion by conferring special privileges upon the Mendicant friars, and in two years gave way to John XXIII, a pope of whom Milman has said that it 'shocks belief that even in those times a man whose life had been so wicked should ascend to the papacy.'

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[1] Nicolas de Clémanges, quoted in Creighton, *History of Papacy*, i. 301, 375.

By this time the desire for a restoration of Church unity and order became irresistible. The Emperor Sigismund cited all three popes to Constance, where a Council was opened on November 5, 1414. The Council, after vindicating its orthodoxy by the condemnation of Hus and Jerome, entered into minute discussions with regard to the papacy and Church reform. Ultimately all three claimants to the papacy were set aside, and on November 11, 1417, Martin V was proclaimed pope. Before his election, the idea of a reformation of the Church had by degrees lost reality and force, until it was all but extinct, and Martin, immediately upon his election, asserted the full rights of the papal Chancery, which was the framework or rather the fulcrum of the existing system. Thus, when the Council was dissolved on April 22, 1418, nothing had been accomplished in the way of reform. Yet the external unity of the Church had been restored and, by an agreement as to future meetings, the claim of Councils to act as courts of appeal against erring popes had been acknowledged as a permanent right. Martin had confirmed certain decrees which ascribed to Councils an authority derived directly from Christ, to which men of every rank, even papal, were bound to yield. In 1420 he took formal possession of the Vatican and set himself to restore the city, which was not less dilapidated than the Church.

Those weighty proceedings, while they postponed a reformation, gave the Roman Church of the fifteenth century its distinctive character; but in Scotland they awakened little interest,[1] and their significance was not recognized. The nation was occupied and absorbed in the maintenance of its territory against the English and in the suppression of civil strife. War with England was for thirty years almost incessant. Truces were arranged twice; but even when they were formally observed Border raids and rapine continued with little intermission. The English invasion most disastrous to the Church was in 1385, when the Scots, although supported by a French force numbering two thousand, were driven northwards by Richard II, and the abbeys of Dryburgh, Melrose and Newbottle, and 'the noble town of Edinburgh with the church thereof,'[2] were destroyed by fire. The distress of the nation was still keener when in 1406 the youthful heir to the crown, on his way to France, fell into the hands of the English. His aged and enfeebled father died a few weeks later, and left Scotland to the perils of a Regency, which lasted for eighteen years.

While southern Scotland was thus in constant turmoil, disorder reigned in the north through the contests between Saxons and Celts. Clan battles, such as that on the North Inch of Perth which Sir Walter Scott has made romantic, were not infrequent. For several years the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' a brother of Robert III, headed the lawless northerners, and in one of his raids destroyed the beautiful cathedral of Elgin — an outrage for which the Church authorities demanded, but failed to secure, vengeance. The chronicler of the diocese of Moray records that at that time 'there was no law in Scotland, but the great man oppressed the poor man and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves: slaughters, robberies, fire-raisings and other crimes passed unpunished, and outlawed justice was driven from the realm.'[3]

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[1] In 1392 Robert III sent an embassy to the Antipope. Also, in 1415, two Scottish ambassadors met with the Emperor and the King of Aragon at Perpignan. But these embassies had no value. At the close of 1415 Aragon deserted the Antipope, leaving Scotland faithful among the faithless.

[2] Fordun, *Annalia*, clxxxix.

[3] *Regist. Episc. Morav.*, p. 382. In 1430 the Lindores monks were 'impoverished by reason of the wild (*silvestres*) Scots.'—*C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 161.

This lawlessness, however, was near its end. In the north the battle of Harlaw, in 1412, ensured the victory of Saxon over Celt, and by that time the triumph of the cause of order was practically secure in the south. Frenchmen who visited Scotland in 1385 wrote contemptuously of the diet and manners of the Scots, describing Edinburgh with its four hundred hovel-like houses as inferior to a second-rate French town; but even in their patronizing sketches there are clear tokens that the voice of law was now audible. They complained that, when they rode abroad, the peasants called upon them to keep to the paths and not to trample on the growing corn, and that, if they carried off a cow, the owner with a band of his men would assault them savagely.[1] Steadily and surely the nation was rising in orderly, disciplined life and was winning a title to consideration. Under the regency of Albany the negotiations with England had a new tone of equality, and before Albany's death Scotland repaid France in full. The French, when in extremity, appealed to the Scots for assistance, and seven thousand men, who were despatched in answer to the appeal, made an effective contribution to the victories of the French over the English in 1421. Before 1424, when James I was allowed to return to his kingdom on payment of 'expenses,' the Scots were recognized as a nation whose friendship had value in international affairs.

With the condition of the papacy and of the nation in view, we can follow the course of Church life with little difficulty. When the Schism arose, the Avignon Pope sent a deputy to inform the Scots that his rival at Rome had secured election through the exercise of physical violence.[2] The deputy was followed by a nuncio, furnished with powers to depose the adherents of Urban VI and make appointments to the vacancies so created, to bestow livings on 'poor clerks' and admit 200 bastards to the priesthood after administering tonsure, to license 200 portable altars and to give 20 dispensations of marriage to next of kin, with 300 plenary remissions.[1] But the exercise of these powers was scarcely required. The allegiance of Scotland to the Antipope was secured partly, as we have seen, by the recent exactions of the agents of Rome, partly by the political consideration that the Italian pope was favoured by England and repudiated by France. The Scots could not but adhere to the cause of their French allies. Some few attempts were made to win them to the other side. Urban VI sent nuncios to Scotland to denounce the Antipope as a 'nurseling of iniquity' and to collect tithes. The attempt at tithe-collecting was renewed by Boniface IX, who also endeavoured to control the appointment of bishops.[2] As a very influential supporter of the Antipope, Walter Trail, occupied the see of St. Andrews, Urban and Boniface assigned the see to successive archbishops of York, who for different reasons had been removed from their own sees; and, again, by nominating a Franciscan monk to the see of Glasgow, Boniface sought to nullify the work of Walter Wardlaw, upon whom the Antipope had conferred the office of cardinal.[3] But both attempts were abortive.[4] The Pope's action was ignored by the Scots, who were all but unanimous in supporting Clement. A bishop of Dunkeld seems to have wavered, for the Papal Registers show that he was allowed by the 'true pope' to grant twenty-four Jubilee Indulgences and to give marriage dispensations to six couples;[5] but as a rule churchmen who here and there disavowed the antipopes were deposed,[6] and after 1387 not a single lay person applied to the Roman Curia for special privileges. In 1413

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[1] Froissart; Hill Burton, ii. 355.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 228.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 240-2. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 262, 267; Theiner, p. 366.

[3] The dates of these episodes, given tentatively by Grub (whom Bellesheim follows), must be corrected from the Papal Registers. Wardlaw was appointed cardinal in December 1383, and the nomination of the Franciscan (Framysden) was made in 1391.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 250, 383.

[4] Neville, the deposed archbishop of York, and Arundel of Canterbury, while in banishment, were 'translated' to St. Andrews in 1388 and 1398 respectively; but neither translation took effect. Neville died in poverty, and Arundel was restored to Canterbury. The appointment to Glasgow was also inoperative.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 379, v. 408. The monks of Lindores also seem to have refused to accept the abbot appointed by the Antipope.—*Chart. of Lindores*, p. 308.

[6] Even a 'kinsman of the king' was deposed from Church office as a 'schismatic.'—*C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 543, 599, 600, 609, 611, 639.

John XXIII made a desperate effort to recover ground by despatching a legate to Scotland with extraordinary powers to absolve 'one hundred fornicators, adulterers, violators of nuns and persons guilty of plunder, rapine and arson';[1] but the effort failed. With the above exceptions, the voice of the true Pope was not heard in Scotland for forty years (1378-1418); for all 'papal' action and inaction the antipopes were responsible.[2]

The responsibility was grave. Neither Clement VIII nor Benedict XIII made any serious attempt to direct or control the Scottish Church. We read of the appointment of a commission to examine charges of sacrilege brought against the Prior of Coldingham,[3] of an endeavour to check the alienation of Church properties[4] and of one occasion, in 1383 or 1384, when Benedict overrode an election to the see of St. Andrews made by the local Chapter.[5] Twice or thrice exemptions and privileges were granted to needy abbeys[6] In no other respect did the Church as a Church receive guidance in administration. The appointment of Wardlaw to a cardinalate in 1383, to which reference has already been made, may have been intended to strengthen the Church; but the mischievous idea of Church authority which prevailed at Avignon is indicated by the fact that his promotion was signalized by permission to grant sixty marriage dispensations in Scotland and Ireland, and to ordain a hundred men born out of wedlock.[7] In such directions the zeal of the antipapal Curia was unflagging. A few of the irregularities which were sanctioned in the first four years of the Schism will serve as a sample of the method followed.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vi. 177.

[2] The bishops of Orkney adhered to the Italian popes, but they were ecclesiastically subject to Trondhjem.—*Ibid.*, iv. 336, 481, 538. It has frequently been stated that the bishops of Galloway, who owned York as metropolitan, took the same course, but this is disproved by the Registers, in which they appear again and again as presenting petitions to Avignon.—*C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 563 etc., *s.v.* 'Whithorn.' The Scottish monks on the Continent, however, adhered to the Italian popes.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 308, vi. 36. A very few of the English clergy acknowledged the antipopes.

[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 236. [4] *Ibid.*, iv. 256. [5] *Scotichronicon*, vi. 47.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 236, 237, 251. The *Chartulary of Lindores* (p. 294) shows that such grants were sometimes ineffective.

[7] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 250-1.

Twenty-six Scottish benefices were assigned to students in France.[1] A petitioner who held three canonries received permission to add a fourth. The Scottish king was allowed to appoint three of his personal attendants to several livings each, and his natural son to the archdeanery of St. Andrews. A court official was appointed to two canonries and an archdeanery. The Abbot of Lindores received leave to grant plenary absolution to all persons, 'clerical and regular, secular and lay.' A Flemish priest who had 'lived so long in Scotland that he had learned to speak the language,' was rewarded for abandoning the 'Pope and the Roman Church' with a canonry at Brechin. The Bishop of Caithness was authorized to grant six marriage dispensations and to ordain twenty-five men born out of wedlock.[2] As the years passed and the plight of the antipopes became more hazardous, their liberality to petitioners, especially to those of royal or all but royal birth, seems to have increased. We find a kinsman of the king made canon of Aberdeen at the age of fourteen, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Athole placed in a canonry at the age of twelve and receiving various additional benefices before he was fifteen, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Crawford pardoned and dispensed for having drawn the fruits of a benefice for six years without ordination.[3] Perhaps the most flagrant pluralist of the period was Thomas the Steward, the king's natural son. Beginning with the archdeanery of St. Andrews, he added to it a deanery, canonry and prebend of Glasgow and a canonry of Brechin. So equipped, and furnished with papal permission to discharge his Church duties by deputy, he proceeded to Paris, where he lectured for five years, receiving Church appointments for his personal attendants. His own benefices became innumerable. Ultimately he was offered the bishopric of St. Andrews, but declined it, preferring his sinecures and Paris.[4] These favours were not always enjoyed. Sometimes the actual holders of livings, although unordained, refused to yield them to the Antipope's presentees, and local contentions followed; sometimes confusion arose from the fact that the Papal Register was in the hands of the true Pope, so that titles could not be proved. Once at least the conscience of the antipapal Curia awoke. Three 'examiners' were instructed to scrutinize certain appointments about which difficulties had arisen. The standard they had in view appears in their report, in which they commended several applications for pluralities, including one from a student of canon law at Avignon for a benefice in Scotland to be held with three prebends.[1]

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[1] See page 284.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 540-3, 548, 549, 551, 557, 565, etc.; *Letters*, iv. 247.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 598, 605, 609, 610, 617.

[4] In 1395 Thomas secured a cathedral office for his clerk, who was a son of a married man and a nun.—*Ibid.*, . 551, 563, 574, 577, 592, etc.

The blame for this policy and for the depression of Church life which it inevitably caused cannot be laid wholly upon the Curia. The antipopes, burdened as they were, could not possibly supervise the Scottish Church, and, for the maintenance of their courts, they were bound to raise funds from the dwindling number of their adherents. There are few traces of a desire for their guidance on the part of the Scottish laity,[2] while the clergy accepted the situation and utilized it in their quest of gain, which had as its natural concomitant growing laxity in morals.[3] The bishops and other churchmen of rank were thoroughly secularized. Assuming a baronial grandeur in their style of living,[4] they enriched their kindred by nepotism and were foremost in seeking for exemptions hurtful to the Church. Thus in 1378 the Dean of Aberdeen secured five livings for his kinsmen, one of whom was a student at Paris.[5] In 1394 the Bishop of Glasgow petitioned that two of his nephews might receive benefices at the age of eighteen and that livings in his diocese might be given to two boys of fourteen.[1] The requests of bishops for leave to ordain bastards and to grant marriage dispensations were sometimes on a scale which even the lax officials at Avignon could not concede.[2] One bishop indeed, Trail of St. Andrews, gained a high repute as an administrator; and the policy which marked his episcopate sheds light upon the situation.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 593.

[2] When one reads that in 1409 William de Cunynghame, a widower, incurred the cost of sending a petition to Perpignan in order that he might religiously secure as his second spouse the cousin of his first, kindly thoughts arise. In such a desire there can scarcely have been an *arrière-pensée*; yet petitions of that type were rare.—*Ibid.*, i. 639.

[3] The habits of priests are reflected in the increasing number of their sons petitioning for Church appointments.—*Ibid.*, i. 557, 608, 618, 620, 623, 630, etc. Fifty-two such petitions were granted by Clement VII and Benedict XIII: of those refused there is no record; but there were refusals. See below.

[4] In 1395 the Bishop of Dunkeld visited his diocese with an escort of fifty-six horse.

[5] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 550.

Trail, who was an Aberdonian, appears first in 1365 as holder of a benefice belonging to the abbey of Arbroath. In the following twenty years he held cathedral offices in at least four dioceses, and also acted as Auditor of the Apostolic Palace under Clement VII. In 1386 he was made bishop of St. Andrews, and for fifteen years thereafter was the leading Scottish churchman.[3] Stainless in personal character and devoutly attached to his own cathedral, he was conspicuous for his patriotism and his skill in diplomacy. Besides holding the office of Referendarius for the Antipope, he represented the Scottish Estates repeatedly in their political negotiations. At one time he spent a year at Amiens, defending the cause of Scotland against English intrigues. He also resisted the aggressions of the Regent Albany upon the Church, and attempted to vitalize the Provincial Council. At least three meetings of the Council were held in the course of his episcopate. The business transacted at two of them[4] is not on record; but at the third, held in 1388, an appeal against an appointment made by the Bishop of Moray was laid before Trail as Conservator of the Council, who sustained the appeal. In 1391, however, the decision of the Council was reversed by the king in parliament.[5] Manifestly some settlement of jurisdiction was imperative. By this time the difficulties of taking appeals to the Curia had become insuperable, and, when the Antipope was shut up as a prisoner in Avignon, legislation was required to save the Church from confusion. Accordingly, in 1401, parliament passed an Act which bore the impress of Trail's strong churchmanship. It declared that during the Schism (*quamdiu schisma in Ecclesia existit*) all the king's lieges should have appeal from their bishops to the Conservator and from the Conservator to the General Council, by whom cases should be determined.[1] By this enactment papal jurisdiction in Scotland was for the time abrogated and an attempt was made to give independence[2] to an ecclesiastical court. Yet it failed to make the Provincial Council an effective force. Church matters of importance were decided by the king in parliament, the clergy having a voice in the decisions as one of the Estates, not as a separate court. At meetings of parliament their opinions were sometimes expressed separately and registered in the records, but only with regard to matters of Church finance.[3] Even in their administration they were largely dependent upon the king. When a bishop failed to secure payment of his rents, or when excommunicated persons defied his authority, or when monks and friars resisted discipline, it was to the king directly that appeal was made, the Provincial Council having no executive.[4] Similarly it was with individual bishops that the king remonstrated when complaints were lodged with him against the practice of dragging laymen before 'Christian Courts.'[5] The insignificance of the Council is demonstrated by the fact that its voice was not heard in the proceedings which restored Scotland from schism to the Roman Obedience.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 614.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 565.

[3] Immediately after his consecration he received the right to hear and to decide first appeals to the Curia.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 252.

[4] Dated by Robertson 'about 1389' and 'about 1390.'—*Statuta*, lxxvii.

[5] *Ibid.*, lii. As yet there was no 'aggression' on the Church. In 1395 the king disclaimed, so far, jurisdiction over churchmen.—*Chart. Cambusk.*, p. 318. An Act of 1378 pledged the king to preserve the privileges of the Church intact. Yet there was a growing desire to limit the action of clerical tribunals.—D. Baird Smith, *Scottish Historical Review*, October 1911.

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[1] *Acts oj Parl.*, i. 214.

[2] Robertson ignores the fact that the point of the Act lay not in conceding an appeal to the Council but in making its decision final.—*Statuta*, ii. 268. The Act has been quoted as an instance of 'lay aggression'; but that character cannot be ascribed to a declaration of the finality of the decisions of a Church court.

[3] Thus in 1398 'the clergy' contributed to a parliamentary assessment, with the twofold proviso, (1) that the freedom of Holy Church should not be prejudiced, (2) that their contributions should be levied by Church officials, not by the king's officers.—*Acts of Parl.*, i. 574.

[4] Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, pp. 224-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 228. The terms 'Court Christian' and 'Court of Christianity,' originally used generally of Church courts, came to be restricted to the courts of rural deans, who were known as 'deans of Christianity.' See page 212.

The energy of Trail is reflected in a set of Church by-laws, known as the 'Synodal Statutes of St. Andrews,' which the best authorities ascribe to his episcopate.[1] The Statutes have peculiar interest, not only as the one surviving conciliar document of the times, but from the light they cast upon the actual life of the Church. They enact *inter alia* that all rectors and vicars shall be able to read and understand synodal decrees and shall make certain fixed payments if not resident in their benefices; that suitable manses shall be built in all benefices, the present manses being too plain (*simplices*) for the entertainment of bishops on their visitations; that all rectors, vicars and other beneficed persons shall lead a chaste life and put away their public women (*focariae*) and concubines within three months, 'to the end that sinister suspicion be not cherished of their incontinence,' the penalty for a first offence being a fine of forty shillings with suspension, for a second offence ten marks, for a third offence deprivation; that no priest shall celebrate several masses a day for gain, and that no 'religious' shall minister for a fee without special licence; that every place of worship in the diocese shall have its complement of priests and clergy, so that divine worship may not be stinted, and that Church benefices shall not be let to laymen; that priests shall not carry long knives save when travelling, or celebrate in short tunics, or undertake in avarice the employments of laymen; that beneficed churchmen when under discipline shall not appeal to powerful laymen; that priests shall cease to solemnize marriage without the proclamation of banns, and that all betrothals shall be made in the presence of a priest and witnesses; that the deaths in every parish shall be reported annually, with special reports upon bequests made for religious purposes; that no dances or wrestling-matches or unseemly sports shall be held in churches or churchyards, since these have led to bloodshed and immorality in sacred places; that annual consistories shall be held in the archdeaconries of the diocese for the instruction of priests in the ministration of sacraments and in other matters that concern the salvation of the souls of their parishioners. With these enactments, the Statutes proclaim the excommunication of persons guilty of arson, coin-clipping, church robbery, usury, perjury, etc.; those who leave their offspring at church doors, assault priests, remove thieves from Church asylum, take part in simony, succour the Saracens in arms or otherwise; those who favour heretics or receive schismatics willingly, trouble the King's Peace, specially Ecclesiastical Peace, with a malevolent mind, or withdraw from the unity of Holy Mother Church.

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[1] Robertson dates the Statutes 'some years before 1401.' They are printed in his *Statuta*, ii. 64-73, and should be read by those who wish to estimate for themselves the religion of the times.

These enactments were not original either in idea or in language. Most of them are to be found, as are the earlier Scottish Statutes, in the decrees or edicts of English or continental courts. They follow, however, no one set of decrees closely and, as a whole, have a character of their own, showing which of the irregularities of the medieval Church caused in Trail's time most offence in Scotland. Whether similiar edicts were issued by other bishops, and how far such legislation was effectual, are unanswerable questions. Yet even standing alone the Statutes furnish welcome proof that the conscience of the Church resented the evils that prevailed; while, in particular, the concern expressed for 'the unity of Holy Mother Church' explains the spirit in which Scotland, as will now be shown, accepted the conclusions of the Council of Constance and acknowledged Martin V as pope.[1]

The Scots had no representatives at Constance.[2] Indeed, while the Council was sitting, their delegates were in attendance on the Antipope and, for eighteen months after he had been deposed, petitions from Scotland were addressed to him as still the Vicar of God. But the new Pope was prudent and adroit. Before the Council was dissolved (in April 1418), he had taken measures to secure the adherence of Scotland. Besides despatching nuncios armed with powers to free Benedict's supporters from ecclesiastical censure and to collect money,[1] he appointed commissioners[2] to present his cause to the nation. A General Council of the Three Estates of the realm was held at Perth on October 2 or 3, 1418,[3] when the case was argued at length. The claims of Martin were very eloquently set forth by the Abbot of Pontignac, one of the delegates from Constance, whose pleadings were supported by a letter from the Emperor Sigismund; but the Regent Albany, influenced no doubt by political motives, still favoured Benedict and put forward as his advocate an English friar named Harding. The argument of Harding, of which the *Scotichronicon* gives an outline, was abrupt and naïve:—

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[1] See page 303.

[2] The English churchmen present alleged that Scotland was one of eight kingdoms subject to the English crown.

> 'To abandon Benedict would be to incur eternal punishment: those who after receiving so many favours deserted him were scorpions and sons of devils. The Council of Constance had no authority. If it were true that Benedict had been negligent, it lay with the Scottish prelates to depose him and elect another pope. Did this seem a proud claim? Hearken to a parable! An elephant fell over a broken tree and could not rise because he had no joints in his legs. His roaring brought another mighty elephant, who could not help his fallen brother. As they two ruminated, twelve elephants assembled, but they could not raise the prostrate one; nor would he ever have been raised, had not a little elephant arrived, who, pushing himself under (*se supponens*), raised him to his feet. The fallen elephant is the Church. The broken tree is the papal jurisdiction, by leaning on which the Church has fallen, and has cried loudly from inability to rise. The elephant who first attempted to help is the Emperor: the twelve other elephants are the Christian kings and princes, who with all their noise have failed to save the Church: the little

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[1] Theiner, p. 370.

[2] There is uncertainty as to the commissioners. The Abbot of Pontignac was one: Raynald mentions a Dominican, Finlay, and an English bishop, Griffin.

[3] Bower gives 1417 as the date, but in October of that year Martin had not been elected to the papacy.—*Statuta*, lxxix.; Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 21.

elephant is the Church of Scotland, which has power to raise the fallen Church. Ye Scots, stand firm and be not flurried! Ye hold the Church's keys.'[1]

The statement of Harding was refuted by John Fogo, monk and afterwards abbot of Melrose, who was equipped with a papal Bull[2] and plied to good purpose the arguments by which Wilfrid had silenced the Iona monks. It was not difficult to exhibit the childish boastfulness of 'a handful of clerics in the remote part of a distant island,' who ventured to challenge a decision to which the Catholic Church adhered, and in this case there was no saintliness to support the challenge. Besides, the new Scottish University had already[3] risen (*insurrexerat*) as one man to renounce the Antipope, to whom it owed its charter. 'All the learned men of the land' had declared for 'Martin and Church unity,' and without any sign of reluctance the Estates ratified their verdict. Before the year 1418 closed, papal nuncios were busily employed in receiving submissions, absolving excommunicated persons, granting marriage dispensations and admitting to the priesthood men born out of wedlock.[4] Yet this implied no change of religious opinion, nor any recognition that the antipopes had been heretical. On the contrary, they were regarded as having been veritable popes, and the favours they had shown to Scotland were cherished in proud memory. Wyntoun, for example, good churchman as he was, writes of Benedict as the legitimate predecessor of Martin, and repeats a legend that Clement's 'great affection to all Scots' was due to his being cousin of

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[1] The above is an abstract from *Scotichronicon*, xv. 25. Hay Fleming (p. 20) shows that the parable is based on a medieval tale of elephant-hunting.

[2] Bower's narrative is indistinct. He says that Harding's statement was transmitted to 'dominus apostolicus' and the Bull was 'executed' by Fogo, who also 'spoke' and wrote an 'invective letter,' which settled the matter. He does not record the decision of the Council, but says that the controversy was finished 'novissime, eodem anno.'

[3] On the foundation of the University see below. The St. Andrews records give the date of the submission of the University as August 8, 1418. It took place at a congregation of the Faculty of Arts held in the church of St. Leonard.—*Votiva Tabella*, p. 34; *Statuta*, lxxix.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 6. The Antipope must have been startled. Petitions from the king and from Wardlaw himself lay before him. He granted them on December 24, and four other petitions on January 1.—*C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 609, 611, 612.

Robert II.[1] The acquiescence in the choice of the Council of Constance meant no more than willingness to accept a basis upon which 'the unity of the Church' would have some visible reality.

Martin V, recognizing the situation, made no attempt to emphasize the change. On petition, he confirmed appointments made by the antipopes and extended his indulgence to men who had been their most active supporters.[2] He had shown at Constance that he intended to maintain the system which had brought the papacy into discredit, and the six years of his reign with which this chapter deals made his intention plain in Scotland. The irregularities which he condoned in those years exceeded in number those which the antipopes had condoned in half a century.[3] When grave offences were reported to him, they were either remitted to special commissions, as though there had been no diocesans, or the incriminated parties were summoned to Rome;[4] and in all such proceedings he acted through chosen agents who spent their time half in Rome and half in Scotland and were richly rewarded with pluralities.[5] The effect of this policy upon episcopal administration was immediate and definite. Bishops, being deprived of power, lost their sense of responsibility. The Provincial Council shrank back into deeper insignificance. The proceedings of its one recorded meeting indicate sufficiently the prevailing conception of the duties of the episcopate. In 1420 the Council met at Perth with considerable pomp. Six bishops and four abbots were present, while four bishops and abbots were represented by proctors, and there were also present 'many deans, archdeacons, priors and the greater part of the clergy which has been wont to meet in council and general synod.'[1] It was a time when Church affairs were in grave confusion—bishops at strife with abbots, monks with priors, vicars with rectors, clerics with laymen; but the business for which the Council had been summoned, and the one matter with which it dealt, was the rights of bishops and their representatives to confirm wills and administer the estates of persons dying intestate. After debate, the Council unanimously agreed that from time immemorial bishops had been entitled to confirm testaments and to appoint executors to those who died intestate. They further declared it to be a praiseworthy practice to divide the estates of the intestate into three equal portions—one for the widow, one for the children, one for 'the obsequies and soul of the deceased' and payment of legacies: twelve pence in the pound of the third portion to be assigned to the bishops in recompense for their services. Having reached this highly satisfactory conclusion, the bishops appended their seals and separated.

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[1] Wyntoun speaks also of Clement as 'pope' without a hint that the title was questionable.—*Cronykil*, ii. 15, ix. 6.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 63-78, 154, 159, 287, etc. Some bishops were not taken over into the 'true' papacy at once, the Bishop of Ross, *e.g.*, not till 1423.

[3] Sons of priests and nuns were placed in Church office with the same readiness.—*Ibid.*, vii. 248, 250, 252, 381. In 1422 he appointed one priest's son to five benefices, another to four.

[4] *Ibid.*, vii. 195, 240, 291, 407, etc. When the Abbot of Inchaffray was charged with publicly keeping a concubine, the case was entrusted to the Bishop of St. Andrews.—*Ibid.*, vii. 291. Another case was entrusted to the St. Andrews Official 'without appeal.'—*Ibid.*, vii. 151.

[5] Foremost among these was William Croyser, whose versatile activity was almost romantic.—*Statuta*, lxxxiii. ; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 20, 66, 67, 73, 93, 99, 138, 139, 358, 360, etc.

The year before this Council meeting was an important one in the history of a Church edifice which was destined to become the principal ecclesiastical building in Scotland. Edinburgh was not a cathedral city, but the church of St. Aegidius, or Giles,[2] which had been founded in the twelfth century on the site of a much older one, was highly valued as the church of the capital of the kingdom, and was frequently used for meetings of national Councils. The damage which it had suffered at the hands of invaders in 1368 and 1385[3] was repaired at the public cost and, when the repairs approached completion, the citizens resolved to secure for it a standing, superior to that of an ordinary parish church. The Papal Registers record that in 1419 the Pope considered favourably a petition from the provost, bailies and community (*universitas*) of Edinburgh that St. Giles', which had been surreptitiously acquired by the Augustinians of Scone[1] and had thirteen chaplaincies, should be made a collegiate church with provost, canons and prebends. The petitioners promised to contribute one hundred gold crowns per annum, in addition to existing endowments, towards the maintenance of the church as reorganized, and to press forward the building of the fabric, on which 'a few years before more than £5000 or £6000 of old sterlings had been laid out.' The Pope instructed the Abbot of Holyrood to inquire into the facts alleged, sanctioned provisionally the collegiate constitution and appointed the Archdeacon of Lothian, Edward de Lawedre, as the first provost, while granting the subsequent patronage both of provostship and of canonries to the petitioners.[2] As the result of the inquiry, Lawedre became not provost but 'vicar,' and the church seems to have been withdrawn from the Scone Augustinians; but for nearly half a century the matter went no further. St. Giles' ranked as an ordinary parish church served by a 'perpetual vicar' until 1466, when, with the aid of a grant from James III, the conversion into a collegiate church was carried out, with some variations from the proposal of 1419. The collegiate staff as appointed consisted of a provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacristan, a bedall, a minister of the choir and four choristers, the patronage of the provostship being assigned to the king. The change received papal sanction in 1468, and in the following year St. Giles' was exempted from the episcopal jurisdiction of St. Andrews.[3]

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[1] These details are noteworthy, as it is the first Council of which an official record has been preserved. The record is printed in *Statuta*, ii. 77-8.

[2] St. Aegidius, St. Gilles, or St. Giles, patron of cripples, is said to have died near Nîmes between 720 and 725. His cult was widely diffused in the twelfth century. In England there were 148 dedications to him. With Scotland he had no special connexion. The facts of his life are presented by Rev. C. Deedes in the *D.C.B.*, *s.v.* 'Aegidius.'

[3] See page 304.

St. Giles' was one of about forty[4] collegiate churches which were erected in Scotland between 1342 and 1545. Since two-thirds of them were fifteenth-century erections, this seems to be the stage at which their character should be explained. They were not distinctively Scottish institutions. Within eleven years of the first erection in Scotland,[1] collegiate churches were erected at Tormarton (Worcester), Westminster, Windsor, Sortesbrok (Salisbury) and Leicester;[2] so that the development in Scotland was the outcome of a movement to which the modern Deans of Westminster and Windsor owe their exceptional status. The purpose of the founders was to secure a divine service with a fuller equipment and a more stately ceremonial than ordinary parish churches and endowments furnished, without the cost and the ecclesiastical control which a cathedral foundation involved. Usually the cost entailed was slight, an endowment being secured by the unification of parish benefices or the appropriation of other Church revenues.[3] Even so modest a guarantee as was given in the case of St. Giles' was, as a rule, held to be unnecessary. In Scotland the head of the 'college' was more frequently styled 'provost' than 'dean.' He was supported by an archpriest, curate or vicar, and by canons or chaplains, who varied in number from three to sixteen.[4] A good deal of attention was given to music, the equipment sometimes including boy-choristers and a song-school, while almsmen or bedesmen were attached to some collegiate churches. Yet these developments were on a small scale, the boy-choristers usually numbering three or four and the almsmen five or six. The founders, who in every case were laymen, frequently appointed their own kinsmen as provosts or archpriests, and apparently combined pious intentions with a desire to create comfortable positions for members of their families by amalgamating the benefices of which they were patrons. The biographer of the grim Earl of Douglas, when telling how he converted the dissolute nunnery of Lincluden into a collegiate church, recognizes that, while 'influenced by a special care for the pure and sincere worship of God,' he 'did thereby greatly increase his revenues and enlarge his dominions.'[1] Indeed in some cases the piety of the donor is not very conspicuous, as when the Earl of March, after enriching Dunbar with parochial endowments, appointed his son to the provostship and so defrayed the cost of keeping the boy at Oxford for 'many years.'[2] Even where there were no such motives, ecclesiastical control was deliberately excluded, St. Giles' not being the only case in which the patronage was entrusted to municipalities.[3] The type of Church life which developed was non-spiritual in character and tone. It was not by accident that political meetings were frequently held in St. Giles'—the 'citizens' church.'[4] Both there and elsewhere room was given for intruders more mischievous than politicians. Provisions[5] which were inserted in collegiate charters against women living with canons must be regarded as indicating special dangers rather than special strictness. The only collegiate church besides those already named which reached any distinction was Kilmun, which owed its importance to its accessibility to the Celts of Argyllshire. The main interest of the institution for history is that it shows the desire of laymen in the fifteenth century to gain control of religious benefactions and to adjust parochial revenues to new necessities.

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[1] St. Giles' had been annexed to Scone in 1395.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 136-7. On the divergence of this narrative from other histories see Note K.

[3] Theiner, pp. 455-6, 463-4.

[4] Keith names 33, Laing 38, Bellesheim 40, Rankin 43.

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[1] At Dunbar: see page 292. The statement of Bellesheim (ii. 414) that the Culdee settlement at St. Andrews became 'collegiate' in the thirteenth century is unsupported. As early as 1364, Abernethy 'collegiate church' agreed to request leave to reduce its staff.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 215.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 118, 186, 187, 231, 255.

[3] A petition presented to the Antipope by William, earl of Douglas and Mar, states that the endowment of a collegiate church which he proposes to found will be secured by the transference of revenues. He proposes to restore to usefulness places anciently dedicated to the service of Christ, such as poor-hospitals and lazar-houses—to defend them . . . and to endow a chapel.—*Ibid.*, i. 537.

[4] Grub accepts the statement of Chalmers (*Caledonia*, ii. 511) that Dunbar had eighteen canons, but eight seems the more likely number.

Although the strain set upon religion during the Schism was severe, the nation developed, not only industrially and socially but in the quest and attainment of knowledge. In the prevailing confusion, the Church could do little directly for education. The schools, although manned by priests, tended to pass under the management of burghs, which were growing in importance. No cathedral or abbey can be named as in any sense a home of learning. The surviving catalogues of cathedral libraries indicate that there was little study of classical literature and that the canons, so far as they were students, were mainly occupied with civil and canon law.[1] Andrew Wyntoun, canon of St. Andrews, who became prior of St. Serf's about 1395, is the only literary churchman of the times,[2] and his *Orygynale Cronykil*, which was completed in 1420, is as destitute of poetical feeling as of ethical insight, although fervently patriotic and devout.[3] Yet there are tokens that the Church fostered the desire of young men to study abroad,[4] and that the number of churchmen who had graduated at foreign universities increased. At the close of the fourteenth century, out of twenty-one students enrolled in the English Nation at the University of Paris, nine were Scots who afterwards became bishops in Scotland.[5] At Oxford the Scots were still more numerous, and formed an appreciable factor in the disputes by which the University was distracted.[6] When the Northern Faction with which they sided was worsted by the party of the Friars, their position became precarious. They were subjected to 'divers hindrances and impediments,' and in 1382 a general campaign was projected against them as adherents of the Antipope. The government of Richard II intervened,[7] instructing the University authorities that there must be no breach of an existing truce between the two nations, and that unless Scottish students were proved guilty of definite offence against the true Pope they were not to be molested; but within a few months of that instruction the triumph of the Southern Faction was complete, and it became clear that, apart from their antipapal proclivities, the Scots must reckon upon hard treatment.

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[1] The officials of Lincluden, including eight prebendaries and twenty-four bedesmen, were largely employed in administering the church properties.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 601, 602, 614. The changing fortunes of Dunglas collegiate church are instructive.—Theiner, pp. 457, 487.

[3] At Crail, *e.g.*, while many collegiate offices were held by the founder's kin, the patronage of several prebends was entrusted to the Crail bailies.—*Regist. of Coll. Church of Crail*, p. 12.

[4] Besides St. Giles', there were two collegiate churches in Edinburgh, Trinity College in Leith Wynd and St. Mary's Kirk o' Fields, the scene of the Darnley tragedy. Restalrig, one mile from Edinburgh, was also collegiate.

[5] Quoted in Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 109.

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[1] The contents of the Glasgow (1432) and Aberdeen (1436) cathedral libraries are analysed by Bishop Dowden.—*Medieval Church*, pp. 99-102.

[2] Fordun probably died in 1385. Barbour, although he lived till 1396, belongs to an earlier generation. See page 296.

[3] Wyntoun complains that his only books of reference were 'part of the Bible,' a twelfth-century commentary, Orosius, 'Brother Martyne,' and English and Scottish stories. The priory library was poorer than it had been three centuries earlier. See page 141.

[4] In 1398 Kelso abbey licensed a clerk to study at Oxford 'for the honour of his Order.'

[5] Cf. page 295 and Denifle, *Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae*.

[6] See page 296.

[7] *Rot. Scot.*, 6 R. 2 m. 6; Rymer, *Foedera*, vii. 372.

Among the Scottish students at Oxford during these disturbances was Henry Wardlaw, the cardinal's nephew, who in 1402 became Bishop of St. Andrews. To his rough experience in England must in part be ascribed the foundation, under his episcopate, of the first Scottish university, an event of signal importance both for Church and for nation. St. Andrews, which for three hundred years had been the seat of the most prominent and influential bishopric, was recognized towards the close of the fourteenth century as the possessor of special educational resources, royal children being more than once lodged there under episcopal tutelage. The exact date at which the education given was systematized into a college has been debated, but it is certain that in 1410 lectures were given by the prior of Lindores, the archdeacon of Lothian, one of the St. Andrews canons and other churchmen, their subjects being the Sentences[1] (*i.e.* scholastic theology), canon law, philosophy and logic. There could not but be difficulty and delay in securing the Bull which was requisite for the erection of a university, for Benedict XIII, the Antipope, to whom Scotland still adhered, was a fugitive secluded at Peniscola. On August 28, 1413, however, he wrote to 'James, king of Scots, Henry the bishop, the prior, chapter and archdeacon of St. Andrews,' allowing them 'to found a university of study for the faculties of theology, canon and civil law, medicine and the liberal arts.'[2] How little of effective personal influence may be implied in the names prefixed to public documents is illustrated by the fact that both Antipope and king were at that date powerless prisoners; and indeed, within two months of the signing of the Bull, Benedict received notice of the approaching Council of Constance, which was finally to silence his claims to the papacy and to detach the Scots from his cause. Yet no whisper was heard at the time or afterwards that the Bull was invalid.[1] When it reached St. Andrews in February, it was published at a great ecclesiastical assemblage with celebration of High Mass, and the University, although at first scantily equipped, entered upon a career which made St. Andrews for more than a century the recognized centre of the learning of the Scottish Church. The importance of this centralizing of religious thought and of the detachment from foreign universities can scarcely be overstated. The physical boundaries of Scotland were by this time established, its political and municipal energies had gained a distinctive character, and by the institution of a university the intellectual, if not the spiritual, independence of the nation was sealed.[2]

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[1] The 'Master of Sentences' was Peter the Lombard, who about 1150 published *Libri quatuor Sententiarum*, a presentation and defence of the teaching of the Fathers.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Petitions*, i. 600, 601. Bishop Wardlaw had granted the college a charter and a constitution on February 28, 1412.—*Votiva Tabella*, p. 33.

Some years before the foundation of the University, the religious awakening to which Wyclif gave shape had permeated England, and its influence had reached Scotland. With Wyclif's earlier contentions against papal aggressions we are not here concerned, for in these his position was that of a national champion who challenged and rebutted the special claims made by popes in England; but it was different when he advanced to deny Roman doctrines and to scrutinize the authority of popes and priests. The ground which he came to take and the 'heresies' for which he was condemned had no special relation to English affairs, and some consideration of them is needed for an understanding of Scottish 'Lollardy.' When put on trial in London in 1382, he was charged not only with denying transubstantiation, but with holding that sacraments administered by a sinful priest are invalid, that confession of sins should be made to God alone, that all Churches should live under their own laws, and that churchmen ought not to hold temporalities. Beyond these specific heresies, he had set forward the Bible as the sole standard of appeal and had condemned the whole ecclesiastical system, declaring episcopacy to be unscriptural and the papacy to be an accursed thing. He had also propounded a theory of the rights of property and of the dependence of ownership upon 'grace' which, although innocuous and even pious in its intention, could take the aspect of rank socialism productive of anarchy. His teaching was disseminated by preachers, called by himself 'poor priests' and by his opponents Lollards, or Babblers, whom he instructed and organized, first at Oxford, then at Leicester. They were trained to set forth Bible truth without rhetoric or fable, and to aim at the penitence and edification of their hearers. Their mission was mainly among the lowlier classes, to whom they ministered with zeal and simplicity. Yet as a matter of principle they combined the gospel of repentance with vigorous denunciations of the papacy and the priesthood, and presented their message with unswerving vehemence. Although neither Wyclif nor his preachers had intentional or direct connexion with the riotous tendency of his times, the revolution which broke out in 1381 partly distorted, partly obliterated his work. In the public mind the idea of opposition to the papacy became confused with the idea of opposition to all authority. Accordingly in 1382, while a council or convocation of churchmen condemned twenty-four of Wyclif's 'conclusions' as heretical, parliament ordered the arrest of the vagrant preachers, who were 'imperilling the whole realm and the souls of the people.'[1] It is noteworthy, as will immediately appear, that the Lollards who were arrested under this Act were specially charged with teaching that Church office is invalidated by the sins of officials, that if the Pope makes unchristian laws he is the 'abomination of desolation,' and that priests whose mode of living is ungodly are not priests. None of the men charged with these heresies suffered death, but the need for rigour soon became apparent. When in 1385 two men of title petitioned parliament to help the 'poor priests' and to repudiate Roman errors, the authorities were startled. Strong and searching measures for the repression of Lollardism were set on foot. In 1401 parliament passed an Act *de Haeretico Comburendo*, by which bishops were empowered to arrest and convict Lollards, and sheriffs were instructed to have them burned 'in a high place' before the people if they refused to recant. In March of the same year effect was given to the Act for the first time by the burning of William Sawtre at Smithfield. In 1410 two hundred and sixty-seven propositions found in Wyclif's writing were condemned at Oxford, and in 1414 a royal Statute bound all officers of State by oath to assist bishops in suppressing heresy. Before that date the teaching of Wyclif had gained an important place in continental debates. His writings were taken to Bohemia from Oxford by Jerome of Prag in 1385, and became a forceful factor in the teaching of Hus, whose public career began about 1398. In 1405 the duty of uprooting 'the errors and heresy of Wyclif' had been declared by the 'true pope,' Innocent VII.

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[1] It is curious how throughout Europe, even when there were three claimants to the papal chair, the adherents of one of the claimants tacitly acknowledged the validity of the action of the other two in other lands; so wholly political and non-religious was the strife.

[2] Both Hector Boece and George Buchanan emphasize the important relations between the University and the Church. R. K. Hannay (*Votiva Tabella*, p. 55 ff.) indicates that James I sought to utilize the University in a policy of national unification, resistance to Rome and secularization of the Church.

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[1] Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, i. 19.

There is no direct evidence as to the date at which 'Lollardy' reached Scotland. A Lollard[1] who was put on trial in 1407 is said to have preached in the north of England for twenty years, and we may infer that his doctrines soon crossed the Border from the fact that the St. Andrews Statutes pronounced excommunication against 'all who favoured heretics and received schismatics willingly.'[2] In 1398[3] the Scottish Estates bound the heir to the crown to 'restrain cursit men and heretics and those that are thrust furth of the Church.' Andrew of Wyntoun, who began to write his *Cronykil* about this date, uses the word 'lollardy' as equivalent to heresy, praising the Emperor Theodosius for his suppression of 'heresies and lollardies,'[1] and expressly says of the Duke of Albany:

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[1] William Thorpe.—Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i. 58-60.

[2] See page 313.

[3] Lang (*Hist.*, i. 285, 289) puts this in 1399, but see Hill Burton, ii. 374. The provision is more definite than that of the Coronation Oath of 1329 which was phrased at Rome.—*Statuta*, xlvii.; Theiner, pp. 244, 245.

'He wes a constant Catholike
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike.'[2]

In the chronicles of 1406[3] an unmistakable Lollard comes to light, James Resby, 'an English presbyter of the school of John Wyclif, who for some time was held in high repute by the simple, but mingled (*interspersit*) with his teaching most dangerous conclusions.' So wrote John Bower, or Bowmaker, abbot of Inchcolm, who enlarged and completed Fordun's Chronicle about forty years after Resby's time. His account of the events is so nearly that of a contemporary, and is given with such frankness, that it may be regarded as trustworthy, not perhaps in verbal matters but in its general strain. It shows how the religious issues which were raised presented themselves to a loyal churchman of the following generation. An epitome of his narrative[4] will be more informing than critical generalities.

'Resby,' he says, 'was burned at Perth, having been condemned at a Council of clergy (*concilium cleri*) held under Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of heretical wickedness. He was charged with forty heresies, of which the first was that the pope is not actually vicar of Christ (*non est de facto Christi vicarius*), the second that he is no pope nor vicar of Christ unless he is holy (*nullus est papa nec Christi vicarius nisi sit sanctus*). His other heresies were similar or worse. Such errors, which were culled from the heresies of John Wyclif, arch-heretic, are still[5] maintained in Scotland by some Lollards and are cautiously guarded, at the prompting of the devil, by men to whom stolen waters are the most pleasant and concealed bread the sweetest. Those who have once been stained and rooted in the school of this most accursed doctrine scarcely or never come to the unity of the faith. Rarely if ever do I remember to have seen such men falling asleep in the Lord in Christian fashion.

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[1] *Orygynale Cronykil*, v. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, ix. 26.

[3] Hill Burton says 'in 1408,' Lang 'in 1407,' Hume Brown 'in 1406 or 1407.' Knox does not mention Resby. See page 380 n. 1.

[4] *Scotichronicon*, xv. 20.

[5] *I.e.* between 1440 and 1447.

And no wonder, since they publicly and privately slander the flock of the Lord and the pope, being worshippers of antichrist. They are dragons, flying through their native land on the surface of the scriptures (*sic*), hardened sons of Canaan, leaving the paths of the Lord, in which Satan hath sought for us that he might sift us like wheat. They destroy the sacrament of penance, weakening oral Confession, attempting to erect shadows into royal palaces, not believing with the heart unto righteousness, rousing the disgust of Holy Mother Church by their idle philosophy and rationalism and by breaking the unity of the faith.'

From this devout vituperation Bower passes into an account of the arguments with which Laurence the inquisitor met Resby.

'What is more heretical than to say that the pope is not in fact the vicar of Christ? It must be clear to every one that some one is in fact Christ's vicar; otherwise the Church would have no head for administrative purposes. Such a vicar of Christ is the pope. *Therefore* inversely (*per conversionem*) the pope is in fact the vicar of Peter, and to be the vicar of Peter implies a full office or fullness of power to bind and loose in heaven and on earth (*in utroque foro*), as can be proved by the sayings of doctors approved by the Church. Yet the pope alone has this full power, because to him alone is entrusted the universal charge of the whole flock of God. For the sake of the flock, an office and a power of this sort exist in the Church, for to Peter it was said, Feed my sheep. If it be objected that the present pope does not resemble Peter in life and morals, the objection must be set aside, because it rests upon the idea that Peter's vicar must be holy like Peter and implies that only a saint can be chosen pope or can bind and loose in Peter's place. Then it would be impossible to elect a pope, or for a pope, if elected, to discharge Peter's office, seeing that according to Scripture we cannot be sure that any man is personally holy or free from mortal sin. By such arguments Master Laurence refuted both Resby and his writings, set them on fire and burned them to ashes.'

Bower completes his narrative and defines its significance by quoting a revelation made by the Virgin to St. Brigitta as follows:—

'When the saint consulted the Virgin as to those who said that the pope was not a true pope and that the Body made (*confectum*) by priests on the altar was not Christ's true body, she said: "Ye turn the back of your heads to God and do not see Him; turn ye your face to Him and then ye will see Him." The true and catholic faith is, that a pope who is free from heresy, by however many other sins he is stained, is never so evil (*malus*), as the outcome of (*ex*) those sins and his other evil deeds, that he is deprived of the full authority and complete power to bind and loose souls which blessed Peter himself derived and held from God. There were many supreme pontiffs (*summi pontifices*) before Pope John[1] who are in hell; nevertheless the just and reasonable judgments pronounced by such popes in this world are steadfast and have been sanctioned at God's tribunal (*apud Deum*).'

Such evidence as these passages supply explains the fact, which in itself is perplexing, that the papacy was most highly valued by churchmen at a time when the popes were personally discredited. It has sometimes been argued that in lands distant from Rome the character and conduct of popes, not being well known, did not affect the popular estimate of their office. But at this time the papal rivalries and ambitions, to say nothing of the immoralities and cruelties of some popes, were recognized throughout Christendom. This recognition, at least as much as any change in religious opinion, secured support for Wyclif's doctrines. We have seen how in England his early adherents were charged with holding that popes and priests are disqualified by immorality. It was the same in Bohemia. The teaching for which John Hus was condemned in 1398 by the University of Prag was pervaded by the idea that the claims of Church officials to authority depend upon their personal worth. In fact, one of the three articles which Hus especially refused to retract at Constance was couched in language almost identical with the charge brought against Resby.[2] In Scotland this heresy was regarded as so fundamental that the chronicler thinks it needless to record Resby's other heresies. His fatal offence was that he challenged the authority of the popes and denied their absolute title to dispense grace. The argument of Master Laurence, as outlined and endorsed by Bower, shows the ground taken by orthodox churchmen. They raised no defence of the Pope's character and admitted that popes had been guilty of mortal sin. The fact that for thirty years papal administration had been worse than futile in Scotland seemed to increase rather than to abate the papal claim. Their one concern was for the unity of the Church, which for them was identical with the unity of the catholic faith. Any breach in the faith was sinful, and the faith was broken by a denial of papal authority, which is essential to Christian life. The interest supposed to be at stake was not the interest of the popes but the interest of the 'flock of God,' which requires a Chief Shepherd upon earth. Neither God's judgments nor His mercies are assured and effective unless His children can look to a vicar who is entitled to bind and to loose. Therefore, churchmen argued frankly, no personal depravity on the part of a pope deprives him of his prerogative or invalidates his official action.[1] Even if he himself is condemned to hell, his judgments are ratified in heaven; and those who mislead the 'simple,' as did the presbyter Resby, by teaching otherwise, create a breach in Holy Mother Church and receive their due in earthly flames.

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[1] John XXIII was deposed by the Council of Constance in 1415 as a 'notorious Simoniac . . . an evil administrator, both of spiritualities and temporalities, who had caused notorious scandal to the Church of God and Christian people by his detestable and unseemly life and manners.'—Creighton, *Hist. of Papacy*, i. 343.

[2] 'Si Papa aut sacerdos in mortali existat peccato, non ordinat, non consecrat, non baptizat.'—Raynald, ad an. 1415, *n*. 39. When Hus asked his judges whether Pope John was really a pope or only a robber, they looked at one another with a smile, but answered, 'Oh, he was a true pope.'

It is important to note where the gravamen and the cogency of this argument lay. The idea that Church offices and sacraments are valid apart from the personal character of officials, although it has been rejected by many earnest men from Tertullian downwards, has generally been accepted as orthodox. Evangelical and catholic Christianity have endorsed the judgment pronounced upon this matter by St. Stephen of Rome in his contention with St. Cyprian.[2]

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[1] Wyntoun recounts cheerfully as a pleasant incident the story of the unchaste woman who was fabled to have been Pope.

[2] St. Cyprian went even further than the Lollards, declaring that the impurity of a priest pollutes the sacrifice and defiles those who are in communion with him.—*Cypr. Epist.* (Hartel), lxv. 4, lxvii. 3. In opposing St. Cyprian,

To those who held that divine grace and Church order could be secured only through a vicar of God upon earth, it was intolerable to suppose that the offences or even the sins of the vicar closed the gates of grace and left the Church in chaos. The fundamental error lay in the ascription of such gifts to popes, not in the determination to cherish the gifts as sacrosanct. The papal theory, as then held, made it reasonable, indeed imperative, to silence teachers who closed to sinners the only access to redemption. No doubt it shocks the modern mind to think of men being burned to death for teaching that unclean and ambitious adventurers do not stand in the place of God, but it is impossible to understand the religion of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries unless we recognize that, while to an increasing number of men the thought was as shocking as it is to us, orthodox churchmen regarded it, with some accuracy, as a legitimate deduction from the powers which were ascribed to popes by the Church system. It must also be recognized that the weakness of Wyclifite teaching, and to some extent of Wyclif's own doctrine, was that it was mainly negative—that it denied current beliefs and challenged Church authorities without setting forth adequate substitutes. The scrutiny of Church abuses and Roman errors, with a bare appeal to Scripture and drastic ethical precepts, had not the persuasive force requisite for a religious revolution.

How unprepared Scotland was for a general acceptance of the teaching of Wyclif is shown by the action of the new University. Within three years of its erection, and within ten years of Resby's martyrdom, the following oath was imposed by a Congregation[1] upon all Masters of Arts: 'Ye shall swear that ye will defend the Church against the

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Stephen failed in logic; but St. Augustine clearly demonstrates that it would be intolerable to think that the flock of God are excluded from grace by the sins of their shepherds. So the Westminster Standards—*Shorter Catechism*, Ans. 91: 'The sacraments become effectual means of salvation not from any virtue in them or in him that doth administer them.' The *Larger Catechism* and the *Confession of Faith* repudiate the idea that the Sacraments are dependent either upon the piety or upon the intention of ministers.—*Larger Catechism*, Ans. 161; *Confession of Faith*, ch. xxvii. 3.

[1] 'Congregation' was the name applied to the governing body of the University.

insult of the Lollards, and that ye will resist with all your power whosoever adheres to their sect.'[1] It has been conjectured that the first students at St. Andrews included many Oxonians, who, when at Oxford, had imbibed the teaching of Wyclif,[2] and that the pledge now prescribed was of the nature of a purgative. For this there is no evidence, and the character of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, a champion of Church orthodoxy, makes it unlikely that the influences which accompanied him from Oxford were heretical. The important matter, however, is that the University, which represented such culture as Scotland possessed, declared itself at this stage on the side of the papacy. There was a quaintness in the declaration, for it was made at a date (June 1416) when Scotland still adhered to the Antipope. Yet it was not the first occasion nor the last when churchmen, themselves undoubtedly schismatical, have posed as champions of the catholic faith. Two years later, as we have seen, the University led the nation in its withdrawal from the Antipope's cause. At this stage the friends of learning believed that the path of peace and progress lay in obedience to Rome, and were wedded anew to Rome by the very influences which impaired her authority over the people. The persistency of this belief and this alliance during the century that followed largely determined the history of the Church.

NOTE K. Page 318.

St. Giles', Edinburgh, made a collegiate church.

Bishop Dowden (*Medieval Church*, p. 106) follows Walcott, Rankin, etc., in dating the first petition to the Pope on this subject in 1465, and indicates that the petitioners were stirred by a desire to emulate Trinity Church, which had been made collegiate in 1462. Dowden, however, wrote before the publication of vol. vii. of the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (*Letters*). The letters printed on pp.

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[1] Record of University quoted by M'Crie, *Andrew Melville*, i. 420.

[2] Lindsay (*History of the Reformation*, ii. 277-8) speaks of Oxford students as bringing 'the teaching of Wyclif' to Scotland. Cf. page 296 n. 4.

136-7 of that volume give the date as 1419, and in a letter of 1423 printed on p. 247, the Pope writes that he has lately provided Edward de Lawedre to the provostship of St. Giles', 'then to be erected into a collegiate church.'

What happened between 1419 and 1466 is obscure. In 1422 Lawedre was in office at St. Giles', as Perpetual Vicar not as Provost, the church having, it seems, been withdrawn from the Augustinians of Scone but not yet made collegiate. In 1424 there was a rival claimant and an appeal to Rome; but Lawedre was Perpetual Vicar, at least till 1429 when he was also King's Proctor at Rome. In that year the benefice is said to be 'of the patronage of laymen,' a clear proof that the connexion with the Augustinians had been terminated, although the rest of the Papal Letter of 1419 had not been effectuated.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 258, 355, 360, 369, viii., 155, 422. In 1450 John Methven was Vicar. In 1454-5 an arm of St. Giles was brought to Edinburgh by William Prestoune. The municipal authorities in acknowledging the gift speak of St. Giles' as 'our mother church.' In 1460 and 1462 the building of the Preston aisle was in process. It was probably in 1466 that James III agreed to a constitution of the church as collegiate. The constitution was sanctioned by the Pope in 1468. The papal charter printed in Theiner (pp. 455, 456) expressly states that St. Giles' already is in the king's gift (*de iure patronatus regis*) and makes no clear reference to the proceedings of 1419. Yet the evidence of the Papal Registers that a charter was granted provisionally in that year is indisputable. See Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 271; *Registrum Cartarum S. Egidii de Edinburgh*; Laing, *Charters of St. Giles'*, pp. 113-27 and App. lxxiv.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHURCH UNDER THE FOUR STEWARTS, JAMES I TO JAMES IV

1424-1513

(1) *Conflicts and Organization*

The four reigns—Dictation of James I to Church—Scotland and Council of Basel—Dispute about bishops' estates—Purchase of benefices prohibited — St. Andrews made archbishopric — Deposition of Graham—Rivalry and confusion—Agreements between Pope and James III—The Glasgow archbishopric—Appeal to Rome prohibited—Two juvenile primates—Impotence of the Church.

THE period covered by the reigns of the first four James Stewarts had a transitional and preparatory character which makes it desirable to regard it as a whole. Many of its most important national events had little bearing upon religion, except by keeping Scotland absorbed in her material interests and outside those intellectual commotions through which the rest of Latin Christendom progressed. A brief indication of some features of each reign which specially influenced the Church will suffice as a preliminary to the more detailed consideration of Church affairs.

James I (1424-37) had imbibed ideas of discipline and civilization during his long captivity in England,[1] and proved himself to be a capable and zealous if also an ambitious and overbearing ruler. Besides subduing his rivals, he waged a successful war with the Lord of the Isles and furthered the cause of order by surveys of property, codification of law and improvements in the administration of justice. The consistent vigour of his general policy gave effectiveness to his special dealings with the Church.

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[1] Although the authorship of *The Kingis Quair*, which describes in graceful Chaucerian verse the love-making of a captive, has been debated, 'there is no reason to doubt that it was written by James I about 1423.'—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, ii. 244.

Under James II (1437-60) the social and economic development of the country was subjected to hindrances and interruptions. From 1443 until 1454 the lowlands were distracted by feuds between the houses of Douglas and Stewart. Indeed few years of the reign were free from war, for again and again the Scots broke their truces with the English. The aggressions of England, however, were abated by the Wars of the Roses, and the course of order and honour was maintained by the counsels of James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld from 1438 to 1440 and of St. Andrews from 1440 to 1465, the foremost Scottish statesman of the fifteenth century. The growth of material prosperity is indicated by sumptuary laws passed towards the close of the reign.

For the first five years of James III (1460-88) Kennedy guided the kingdom prudently, but his death in 1465 was followed by disasters. The king formed friendships which were regarded as discreditable and quarrelled with his nobles, who imprisoned him for a while, and thereafter kept Scotland in ferment until, after the battle of Sauchieburn, he died at the hands of one of the insurgents. The annexation of Orkney in 1471-2, following upon his marriage with the Norwegian princess Margaret, and the subjugation of John of the Isles in 1476 tended to increase the authority of the Church in remote districts. More important is the fact that James in his troubles with his subjects repeatedly appealed to Rome, although without much effect. Once, in 1481, he himself withdrew from an inroad into England at the bidding of a papal envoy; but his barons paid no heed to admonitions in which the popes urged them to obey their king, and finally, in 1488, the Lords of the Articles forbade a papal legate to cross the Border until he should formally intimate his business. As the result of the king's appeals, there was a revival of suspiciousness of papal policy with a disposition to resist acts of papal administration; but churchmen were divided politically, some bishops supporting the insurgents, others supporting James, and the Pope did not hesitate to grant absolution to those who were involved in the rebellion and in the murder of the king.

James IV (1488-1513) soon after his accession appealed to the Pope in the interest of one of his 'counsellors,' and his appeal was received benignantly. In 1489 Ferdinand of Aragon, 'the arch-plotter of Europe,' attempted to draw him into a projected alliance against France, but the attempt failed, and in 1491 Scotland renewed her French treaty, adding a secret agreement to make war upon England if the latter should ever attack France. By this time the value of the Scots as allies was recognized by the European powers, including England. Brief border-wars waged in 1496 and 1497 gave place in 1502 to the betrothal of James to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, and for seven years thereafter there were no serious difficulties. Meanwhile James was in high favour with Rome. In 1507 Julius II, who was anxious to detach him from the alliance with France, presented him with a gold-embroidered hat and sword, proclaiming him by his legates to be Protector of the Christian Religion. Scotland, which was advancing rapidly in civilization and had shown special skill in ship-building, seemed to be on the way to becoming a catholic power of rank. Yet the very next year saw the accession of Henry VIII, whose strong reign was to have unlimited consequences for Churches as well as for nations and, in particular, to alter the aspect of the world for Scotland. The series of intrigues and blunders which issued in the calamity of Flodden Field belongs wholly to political history. Although the league which Scotland refused to join was known as 'The Catholic League,' it was not in any sense a religious alliance and the refusal had no religious significance, except as an indication that the Scots did not regard the authority of Rome as binding in matters political. Nor can the responsibility for the disastrous policy be laid upon the Church. A share of the blame no doubt lies at the door of Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray; but the leading churchman of the time, William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen from 1482[3] to

1514, who was a consecrated patriot and a man of spotless integrity, opposed the French alliance and favoured the Catholic League. The primate, Alexander Stewart, a youth of marked devoutness and scholarly interests, was drawn into the contest, according to indisputable testimony, solely by affection for his father, James IV, to whom he owed his high position. It is true that he and the other churchmen—two bishops, two abbots and a dean—who died on the dire field were fighting against forces led by the banner of St. Cuthbert and stimulated by the benediction of the Pope, who after the battle declared them and their king to be 'schismatics and therefore infidels.'[1] But the 'schism' had no religious background. Scotland was at the time freer from heretical intention than any other country in Europe.[2]

During those four reigns the history of the Church had a continuity which many writers have ignored. Political historians have naturally recorded only those episodes which explain or illustrate political history, while Church historians have thought it enough to report the rare meetings of Church Councils, the succession of bishops and the surviving pronouncements of popes, and have assumed that, where such records fail, the Church in Scotland was like other Churches of the west. Yet in fact Church affairs were shaped and controlled by the rulers of the nation and were administered in a fashion distinctive of Scotland. No doubt all over Europe there was a struggle between Church and State, popes, kings and bishops, priests and monks, clergy and laity, the friends of order and the disorderly, the orthodox and the heretical; but the facts presented in this and the following chapter will show that in Scotland the struggle was unique, through the special relationship of kings and parliaments to the Church and the absence of factors which were potent in other lands.

James I, immediately after his coronation, showed that he regarded Church affairs as a department of national life which he was called to reduce to order. The first Act of his first parliament set forth his intention to defend the Church in its privileges. An enactment declaring the rights of churchmen to deal with their lands was accompanied by a royal instruction to the Bishop of St. Andrews to take steps for the recovery of lands alienated by his predecessors. The 'freedome of haly-kirke,' which was a leading item in his policy, meant protection against lay encroachments and carried with it no idea that the Church was independent of the Crown. The control he desired to exercise was thorough and reforming. An Act of 1425 instructed bishops to make search for heretics, and in the same year he addressed a letter to the abbots and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian foundations, which shows how sadly these Orders had deteriorated. Their downward course, he says, and the impending ruin of holy religion distress him and lead him to seek to rouse them from their somnolence and sloth. The monastic rules are so relaxed that the system is everywhere in opprobrium and on the verge of extinction. The dissoluteness of abbots, reflected in the disorderly and pernicious behaviour of monks, has produced a squalid and pitiful situation. Those who in olden time endowed the monasteries would regret their liberality[1] if they saw how shamelessly the monks have discarded their religious character. He calls upon the abbots and priors to arise from their sloth and take in hand a reformation of religion, and warns them that, although he will support them in their efforts, he intends to brook no opposition.[2] The terms of this admonition indicate the belief of James that it lay with him as king to restore the Church to order.

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[1] Raynald, ad an. 1513. Scottish disasters were frequently ascribed by the English to the partiality of the Scots for antipopes.—*Statuta*, cxiii.

[2] Scandinavia was perhaps as 'orthodox.'

The same conception of his duty appears in a parliamentary Order issued in 1426, instructing the Provincial Council to appoint certain prayers for the king as a fixed part of mass;[3] and in the following year it was reasserted with a vigour which brought matters to a crisis. In order to check the inordinate cost and irritation of the protracted proceedings of Church courts, parliament prescribed certain dates and terms of appeal in the interest of poor litigants, and ordained that the decree should be forthwith enacted by the Provincial Council.[1] This legislation, which assumed that Church courts were bound to accept and register parliamentary decisions even in spiritual matters, roused the indignation of Pope Martin V and led to a ten years' conflict. The Bishop of Glasgow, John Cameron, who had promoted the enactment, was summoned to Rome, but the king intimated to the Pope that Cameron, who was his Chancellor, was required in Scotland.[2] The Pope thereupon despatched one of his most zealous agents, William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, to cite Cameron personally. Croyser, after delivering the citation, fled to Rome, pursued by a royal letter in which he was charged with high treason; and in his absence he was put on trial before a commission of nobles, gentry and burgesses and deprived of innumerable benefices which he held in Scotland. He appealed to the new pope, Eugenius IV, who wrote to the king very angrily, stigmatizing the Scottish bishops as 'Pilates rather than prelates,' reinstated Croyser in his benefices and appointed a special commission, with powers of excommunication, to give effect to his decision.[3] At this point James temporized and requested the Pope to send a legate to investigate the whole situation, and the Pope in 1436 yielded so far as to despatch an Italian, the Bishop of Urbino, to the Scottish court. The legate, who was accompanied by eight priests and armed with large dispensing powers, was instructed 'to visit and reform all churches and monasteries' and to care for 'the ecclesiastical state of the realm,'[4] and arrangements were made for receiving him at

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[1] It was in this mood that James spoke of David I as 'ane soir sanct for the crown.' On the history of the saying see Robertson, *Statuta*, lxxxix; Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, xxxiii.

[2] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 25, 26; *Scotichronicon*, xvi. 32.

[3] This Act was passed by the Estate of the Clergy sitting in parliament. A similar injunction was passed in 1428 with regard to the treatment of lepers.—*Statuta*, lxxx., ii. 272.

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[1] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 14.

[2] Ambassadors were sent to the Pope. The course of events as described in the Papal Registers differs considerably from Joseph Robertson's narrative. A summary is given in Primrose, *Medieval Glasgow*, p. 65 ff. See *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 72, 234-5, 261, 286; Theiner, p. 373.

[3] The papal judgment was issued twice, in 1435 and 1436.—*Ibid.*, pp. 373-5; Raynald, ad an. 1436.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 229, 288.

'a council of king and clergy assembled in parliament.' The meeting, however, was interrupted by the death of James I. When this was reported to the Pope, he charged the legate to proceed with the work of reformation and to further the cause of peace.[1] In the latter part of this charge the legate succeeded, for in 1438-9 Croyser was despatched as nuncio to absolve Bishop Cameron from the censures pronounced on him at the outbreak of the dispute;[2] but the general question of jurisdiction remained open, the legislation of 1427 being unrepealed.

By this time, however, the parliamentary enactments which had caused offence had lost interest through the rise of graver anxieties, in which the fortunes of the papacy were involved. The Pope's own title had been challenged by a General Council of the Church assembled at Basel, and a rival pope had secured numerous adherents in Scotland.

The Council of Basel, which was formally opened on July 23, 1431 and was not completely dissolved till 1449, was the last of the pre-Reformation attempts to reform the papal system by Conciliar agency.[3] Although it was summoned in accordance with the provisions of the Council of Constance,[4] the Pope consented to its meeting very reluctantly. The motive force by which he was constrained to yield was the startling success of the Hussites in Bohemia; but behind the Hussite movement there was the pressure of a demand by churchmen and laymen for a reform of the Church in head as well as in members. From the outset the antagonism of the Council to papal authority was made manifest. The Bohemians were invited to attend, not as culprits but in order to explain and vindicate their claims; and in other respects the procedure was so distasteful to the Pope[5] that in November 1431, he ordered the dissolution of the Council. The order was disregarded, and the Council declared that, in terms of the decrees of Constance, it derived its authority immediately from Christ and was not subject to the Pope. Having made this declaration, the Council despatched envoys throughout Christendom to invite the co-operation and enlist the support of princes, declared the Pope guilty of contumacy, and settled to its work with a prudence and vigour which constrained Pope Eugenius to pause in his opposition. In February 1433, when the Bohemian envoys arrived at Basel, he revoked his order of dissolution, so that for a time the Council, on which the eyes of Europe were now anxiously fixed, regained validity even in the judgment of the papal party. The terms of the Pope's revocation being regarded as equivocal, the Council on April 27 reiterated its assertion of independence, intimating that a pope who impeded or prorogued a Council should, after due notice, be suspended from office, and ordering that this should be notified in every diocese.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 230.

[2] *Ibid.*, viii. 294; Theiner, p. 375.

[3] The details are fully given in Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, bk. iii. Milman's less detailed but more suggestive narrative should also be read.—*Latin Christianity*, bk. xiii. chs. 11-16.

[4] See page 303.

[5] Not the pope who convened the Council (Martin V), but his successor (Eugenius IV).

These dates are important as explaining events in Scotland. Eight weeks after this declaration, on June 22, 1433, James I despatched an express messenger to the Council with a frank and cordial apology for having hitherto failed to comply with the frequent invitations he had received. With the 'heresy' of the Bohemians he can have had no sympathy, for in that very year, as we shall see, a Bohemian died at the stake in Scotland. But he was heartily anxious, he said, for the moral reformation of the clergy and people and for the healing of the discords of catholic princes; no cause could be more honourable, just or urgent than that of the Council; he believed that they had been guided by the Holy Spirit, and they would receive his hearty and devout support.[1] In fulfilment of this promise, he despatched eight ambassadors to Basel, and in 1434 the number was increased to about twenty.[2] One of the ambassadors named was the very bishop of Glasgow who had given offence to the Pope,[3] a clear token of the king's leanings. Still more prominent among the antipapalists was Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan, a learned and eloquent monk, who became conspicuous at the Council for his effective advocacy of reform.[1] When the contest at Basel developed into a final rupture between the Pope and the Council, opinion in Scotland was divided, with confusing results. The most skilful diplomatist of the times, Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II, appeared in Scotland, nominally on an administrative errand, at the very time when king and Pope were at variance with regard to Scottish Church affairs.[2] Aeneas was at that stage leader of the antipapalists at Basel,[3] and it can scarcely be doubted that he visited Scotland as their agent, although when he changed sides he naturally suppressed that fact. Whatever was the purpose of his visit, it failed to secure unity. When in 1437 the Pope issued a Bull dissolving the Council and attempted to transfer it to Ferrara, he wrote to St. Andrews University requesting the attendance of 'God-fearing masters or doctors' at Ferrara,[4] and the invitation seems to have been accepted. Yet Abbot Thomas remained at Basel, and in 1439 was not only a leader in the deposition of Eugenius but one of three men who elected an antipope, Felix V.[5] The Antipope found many supporters in Scotland.[6] Fordun, writing within six years of the time, draws a gloomy picture of the prevailing turmoil. 'State and Church (*regnum et sacerdotium*) were at variance; the one excommunicated the other; men were guided by their own whims rather than by regard for principle, and the authority of Him who has given power to bind and loose was wholly despised.'[7] Gradually, however, the cause of Pope Eugenius prevailed. The best churchmen of the day, including Kennedy, adhered to him, and a Bull which he transmitted to them with instructions to appeal, if need be, to the secular arm was used to good purpose.[8] In 1443 parliament declared for 'our Holy

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[1] The letter was read publicly at Basel on July 17 or 18.—*Statuta*, ii. 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 284.

[3] Cameron's name was withdrawn six months later.

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[1] *Aeneae Sylvii Comment.* ii. 48.

[2] See page 338. Aeneas must have been in Scotland within a few months of the date at which the Pope despatched legates to Scotland publicly.

[3] The relations of Aeneas to the papacy at that time make it impossible to believe that he was despatched by Eugenius on Cameron's business.—*Medieval Glasgow*, p. 68 f.

[4] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 265.

[5] Milman assigns this part to Fogo, abbot of Melrose. See page 315.

[6] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 238.

[7] *Scotichronicon*, xvi. 6.

[8] *Statuta*, c.

Fadir the Pope Eugene,'[1] and the declaration was made effective by special instructions to nuncios.[2] Even Abbot Thomas deserted the Antipope. He was rewarded for his tergiversation with several benefices, and only a few depositions of the adherents of the Antipope were required.[3] But the schism lingered for several years. In 1445 the successor of Eugenius found it needful to repeat the Bull of excommunication, and in 1447 had to give additional instructions for restoring antipapalists to office. Indeed the party was not extinct till 1449, when the abdication of the Antipope sealed as a complete failure the attempt to reform the papacy by means of a Council.[4] As in the case of the Great Schism, the antipapalists were more tenacious in Scotland than in any other part of Christendom, and they owed their strength to the fact that for a time the king was in collision with the Pope through his determination to control and reform the Church.

Before this struggle had abated, Scottish churchmen were involved in a dispute which, although local in its incidence, had a direct bearing upon papal authority. For more than two centuries the title of bishops to dispose of their personal property by bequest had, as an earlier chapter has shown,[5] been debated and denied. The theory generally avowed in the western Church, although not rigidly applied in practice, was that property acquired by churchmen when in office should remain with the Church on their decease; but the title both of Church and of churchmen had been resisted, especially in Germany, by the claim of princes as liege lords to the estates of bishops as their vassals. In Scotland this claim had prevailed, and it had been held that the acquisitions of bishops lapsed to the Crown when they died. In the fourteenth century, bishops had repeatedly appealed to popes for protection against this usage, and thrice at least Bulls were issued in their favour.[1] Although for the time king and parliament bowed to the decision, their acquiescence was only temporary. The ancient practice was resumed, and Robert III actually bestowed upon one of his episcopal favourites the prized devotional treasures of a deceased bishop. As soon as the sceptre passed into the hands of James II, the bishops pressed their grievance upon the notice of king and parliament,[2] and in 1445 a commission of investigation was appointed, consisting of sixteen laymen and fifteen churchmen. The commission declared that the claim of the bishops had papal authority, and four years later, in 1449-50, the king not only renounced his claim but embodied his renunciation in a charter with parliamentary sanction.[3] Yet this concession, although formally grounded upon papal decisions, implied no disposition to favour the papacy financially. By this time resentment was rising against the intrusions and exactions of Rome; and the very Act which allowed bishops to dispose of their estates asserted the title of the king to dispose of all benefices during an episcopal vacancy and to administer the real estate of the see. This title, which was expressly acknowledged by two Provincial Councils, was reasserted by parliament in 1462, 1481 and 1488, and was extended so as to cover cases in which popes 'reserved' appointments.[4] The interest of the affair is that the acquiescence of the bishops in the claim of the king, as against the Pope, was unmistakably a repayment to the king of the favour which he granted them as individuals, and that neither party showed any concern for the religious welfare of the Church. About this time the Provincial

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[1] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 33.

[2] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 287, 308; cf. 303.

[3] Theiner, pp. 378, 381.

[4] It is curious that Croyser, formerly the Pope's agent, was the last adherent of the Antipope whose deposition is recorded.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 306.

[5] See page 289.

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[1] Details are given in *Statuta*, ci.-ciii.

[2] In the *Cambridge Modern History*, i. 630, Canon Barry mistakes this representation of the bishops for a reforming meeting of a Provincial Council. There was no Council meeting and no attempt at reformation. Bellesheim (ii. 84) points out that the policy of the bishops was 'fraught with calamitous consequences to the Church.'

[3] Eight bishops on their knees besought James to abolish the custom of the king seizing the goods of deceased bishops. He not only complied with this petition, but provided that during a vacancy the fruits of a bishop's mensal churches and 'spiritualities' should be collected by an official under account to the bishop's successor.—*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 37, 38.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 83, 133, 141.

Council seems to have held annual meetings, but the only recorded decisions are as to disputed rights to tithes and the granting of degrees by the Colleges of St. Andrews. After 1470 there is no trace of a meeting for sixty years.[1] The Council had no doubt been a well-intended institution, but it had failed to guard the interests and to secure the unity of the Church.[2] Popes, kings and individual churchmen swayed Church affairs in turn, as each chanced to have strength, while parliament in the background guarded the independence and the finance of the nation, and intervened from time to time without any heed to the difference between spiritualities and temporalities.

The confusion which arose from the conflicting operation of these agencies is illustrated by various incidents which occurred at the very time when the Provincial Council was falling into its sixty years' slumber. In 1462 the Abbot of Arbroath secured papal exemption from the authority of all bishops except the Bishop of St. Andrews, in whose diocese his own abbey was situated.[3] As he held by 'appropriation' livings in several other dioceses, the vicars by whom they were served were placed beyond the reach of effective discipline. In 1465 Patrick Graham, bishop of Brechin, secured at Rome appointment to the bishopric of St. Andrews with a payment to the Curia of 3300 gold florins, and immediately thereafter received from the Pope, in addition, the priory of Pittenweem and the abbey of Paisley *in commendam*, making a payment for these offices into the papal treasury according to fixed tariff. At this stage parliament intervened and, in 1466, prohibited such appointments, but the Pope, ignoring the prohibition, instructed his representative to carry out his directions.[1] Similarly, when in 1469 parliament assigned to the Bishop of St. Andrews the function of confirming abbots and priors in his diocese,[2] the Pope brushed aside the Act and intimated to the king that the function was a papal one. To this parliament responded in 1471 by defiant legislation. The papal usage of reserving certain specified appointments had by this time developed into a sweeping claim that popes were entitled to appoint to Church offices of every grade.[3] Parliament now declared that great damage and hurt was daily done to the whole realm by the purchase of benefices at Rome and the imposition of new taxes by papal officials. It enacted that henceforth abbeys and elective benefices should fill their own vacancies; that no Scot should collect taxes for the see of Rome higher than those of Bagimont; that there should be no annexation of church endowments to bishoprics or monasteries, and that all annexations made since the accession of James III should be held null and void: violators of the Act were to be regarded as high traitors against 'our sovereign lord the king.'[4] Yet these vigorous enactments, although they were repeated in 1488,[5] led to no such open warfare as in the fourteenth-century contentions of England with the popes. Nor was there that personal antagonism on the subject between monarch and pope which was almost universal on the Continent in the latter half of the fifteenth century.[6] In the very year of the above Act, Pope Paul II despatched a collector of revenues to Scotland with the ordinary commendation to the king, and, when a layman appealed to Paul for assistance in a civil suit, the appeal was transmitted from Rome with a courteous request for the king's favourable consideration.[1] Of a definite breach there was as yet no thought on either side. Indeed, when Patrick Graham, who had been involved in most of the collisions, betook himself to Rome, Sixtus IV, who now occupied the papal chair, attempted to honour Scotland by conferring upon him archiepiscopal dignity.[2]

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[1] A list of festivals and fasts with 'Provincial and Synodal' authority is contained in a MS. of 1592, but there is no indication of the date at which it was sanctioned.—*Statuta*, ii. 74.

[2] The Council of Basel had ordered that Provincial Councils should be held every three years. We possess information of about 220 such Councils held throughout Europe between 1431 and 1520.—*Cambridge Modern History*, i. 629. In Scotland the injunction was ignored. A fair illustration of the weakness of the Council appears in an enactment of the king and Three Estates in 1443, that there shall be a 'general cursing' of those who 'break the freedom of Holy Church,' each prelate assisting the others.—*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 33. Such a proceeding would normally be an affair for Church courts; but the Church was so largely represented in parliament that a separate Church court seemed needless. In the parliament of 1478 there were 23 barons, 16 churchmen and 14 commissioners of burghs.—Hume Brown, i. 289.

[3] Theiner, p. 435.

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[1] The purchase of benefices had been forbidden by parliament in 1424, but without effect.—*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 5; cf. ii. 8.

[2] The Act of 1469 was confirmed in 1479.

[3] Examples of this claim will be found in Theiner, pp. 387, 394, 422, 484. The earliest surviving record of a sweeping claim is a missive of Sixtus IV dated 1478.

[4] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 99.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii. 109.

[6] When the Pope refused the claim of Ferdinand and Isabella that Spanish bishoprics should be given to Spaniards of their selection, those sovereigns, conspicuously religious though they were, recalled all their subjects resident at the papal court and threatened to take steps for summoning a General Council.

The erection of St. Andrews into an archbishopric in August 1472 was the fulfilment of a desire which had been first expressed three centuries before. It was a step which could well be justified if the Scottish Church was to have the full advantage of the hierarchical system. In the Bull of Erection[3] the following cogent reasons are alleged: (1) for lack of an archbishop, appeals against episcopal decisions had to be taken to Rome, with consequent 'danger, inconvenience and expense';[4] (2) spiritual causes were frequently debated and decided in civil courts (*fora vetita*); (3) bishops, presuming upon their distance from Rome, stepped into illegal courses and allowed crimes and excesses to remain unpunished; (4) the see of St. Andrews had a renown and distinction possessed by no other Scottish see, while its situation, surroundings and cathedral staff marked it out for metropolitan honour. In view of these considerations, Graham was decorated with pall and cross and declared to be metropolitan and archbishop with full authority over the twelve other Scottish sees, viz. Glasgow, Dunkeld Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Candida Casa, Lismore, Sodor or the Isles, and Orkney.[5] At the same time exemptions from episcopal authority, which had for various reasons been granted to Kelso, Holyrood, St. Salvator's College (St. Andrews) and St. Giles' (Edinburgh), were revoked, an adequate revenue for the archbishop was secured by the appropriation of seven churches and a priory, and provision was made for the metropolitan fabric by a gift of plenary indulgences.[1] The claims of the papal treasury were not ignored. While Graham was pledged to make payment of the first year's fruits, or annates, of the seven appropriated churches, he was also instructed to levy soldiers and subsidies and to impose a tithe upon the clergy for a crusade. For such an assessment there was at the time a special need,[2] and it might reasonably be expected that the archbishopric would be welcomed as a boon calculated to promote unity and order.

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[1] Theiner, pp. 464, 465.

[2] R. K. Hannay represents that the promotion of Graham was due partly to the Pope's wish to vindicate papal claims against the national feeling which threatened them.—*Rentale Sancti Andree*, xiv.

[3] For the text of the Bull see Theiner, pp. 465-8.

[4] So glaring was this evil that in 1386 Clement VII had given Walter Trail power to decide cases of appeal and even to invoke the secular arm.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, iv. 252. See page 310 n. 3.

[5] It may be assumed that the dioceses were named in the order of importance.

The expectation, however, was disappointed and Scotland was embroiled in a dispute more bitter and distracting than the papal schisms had caused. Some blame must be attached to Graham, who was so indiscreet in using his new authority that he has been charged with insanity.[3] Yet the forces arrayed against him were irresistible. The king was indignant that a step of such importance had been taken without his consent. The Bishop of Aberdeen was so strenuous in refusing to acknowledge any bishop as his superior that within a year he gained a papal exemption making him independent for his lifetime.[4] Orkney, which had just been annexed to Scotland, was as yet unfamiliar with Scottish ecclesiastical usages and restive under new burdens,[5] while Candida Casa had had the status of a Scottish bishopric for only fifty years and was still claimed as a suffragan by the proud archbishops of York.[6] But apart from antagonism based upon special circumstances the bishops generally were opposed to this curtailment of their independence and, in particular, protested against being deprived of the right to elect annually a president of the Provincial Council—a right which made it open to any one of them to become for a year the chief bishop of Scotland. They subscribed twelve thousand merks to assist the king in contesting the innovation,[1] and skilfully shaped their opposition to the new office into a personal attack on Graham, who was almost at once involved in difficulties. He was summoned in 1473 to give account of his conduct to a Council and, although the Council did not actually condemn him, he was forbidden to exercise archiepiscopal powers. By the king's orders his ships were seized. The crusading tithe which he had been instructed to levy yielded nothing. He was unable to make payment of the charges due to the Curia for his promotion, and complaints of his irregularities were transmitted to Rome. The charges were so far substantiated that the Pope appointed a coadjutor to check his administration, and in 1476 despatched a special commissioner to investigate the case. The report of the commissioner was submitted to three cardinals, and in 1477-8 Graham was condemned as a 'heretic, schismatic, forger, simonist, blasphemer and perjurer.'[2] By papal Bull he was deposed, deprived of his orders and sentenced to imprisonment in a cloister. Not a voice was raised in his defence. After temporary detention in the priory of Inchcolm and in Dunfermline abbey, he was transferred to St. Serf's, Lochleven, where he died in 1480 or 1481.

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[1] Theiner, pp. 468, 469, 470.

[2] Raynald, ad an. 1472, 16-19. The 'enormous advances' of the 'ferocious Turks' were causing genuine alarm. After the fall of Negroponte, the Pope despatched eighteen galleys to the aid of Venice.

[3] As early as 1470 the Abbot of Arbroath charged Graham with using personal violence and with bringing a retinue of a hundred or even two hundred horse on his visitations.—*Liber de Aberbrothoc*, ii. 164.

[4] Theiner, p. 473. Bishop Spens of Aberdeen had won high favour by a brilliant and adventurous career in diplomacy.—*Lives of Bishops of Aberdeen*, p. 37 ff.

[5] *Medieval Church*, p. 9; *Statuta*, cxiv. See below.

[6] Cf. page 205.

There is picturesqueness in the fact that the first Scottish archbishop died a prisoner under papal condemnation in the lake-girt priory from which, three centuries before, Rome had expelled the strenuous supporters of the Celtic Church. And the picturesqueness is not merely fanciful. George Buchanan has depicted Graham as a solitary reformer of a decaying Church, who suffered innocently and bravely for his endeavours to remove the scandals by which Scottish Christianity was disgraced, and, although the picture will not stand close scrutiny, and has even been ridiculed by some modern historians, the charges brought against him show that he was more than a selfish adventurer.[1] He was charged with having challenged the authority of the Pope, with having claimed a title to reform the Church, and specially with having alleged that papal indulgences were worthless, since they were 'granted in order to obtain money.' It is true that he was also charged with tyrannical and arbitrary conduct, with appointing bishops on his own authority and despatching legates to 'different parts of the world,' with simony, with falsifying some papal documents and suppressing others, and, generally, with persistently causing scandal. Yet his accusers were prompted by their selfish interests and in his trial there was barely a show of impartiality. When we read that he was blamed for saying mass three times a day when under suspension, it is difficult to doubt that his rebellion against Rome had, or at least assumed, a religious aspect. Although self-willed and ambitious, he attempted to secure independence for the Church and, if he was involved in the irregularities of the times, he was unstained by their worst vices. He was neither saint nor martyr. His greatest blunder was his highest distinction, that he ventured to break away from the authority to which his office owed its existence and to maintain that as head of the Church of Scotland he himself was 'Scotland's Pope.'[2]

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[1] Lesley, *History of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 41. After the erection of the archbishopric the Provincial Council ceased to meet.

[2] Theiner, p. 481.

The principal agent in Graham's downfall, William Schevez, who had acted as his coadjutor when he was under impeachment, was in 1478 appointed his successor. Schevez was an adventurer and a courtier. He had studied physics and astrology at Louvain and practised medicine at the Scottish court for six or seven years, besides acting as the king's house-steward. In the early years of his archiepiscopate he was mainly occupied in political negotiations, and took no steps to check the increasing confusion of the Church, although he was a man of considerable culture. The papal collectors of those years, who reported to Rome the difficulty of raising money, were themselves convicted of malversation in which the Archbishop was involved. The Church finance of St. Andrews was especially disordered. Meanwhile there were collisions with the Pope in regard to the appointment of bishops, notably in 1483, when Robert Blacader, bishop of Aberdeen, was forced upon the see of Glasgow by threats of papal excommunication.[1] In 1484 it was resolved to send an embassy to Rome in order to negotiate a settlement and arrange other matters; but before that purpose was carried out, the reins of the papacy came into the hands of Innocent VIII, who, in accordance with his intensely avaricious character, took prompt steps to secure payment of arrears from Scotland. In 1485 the king appealed to him for help against his rebellious subjects, alleging that his dominions 'lay in poverty and desolation, the Church wounded, divine worship neglected and despised.'[2] The Pope adopted the cause of the king against his subjects, with a zeal prophetic of the attitude which fifty years later helped to determine the history of the Scottish Church. He assured James that his real difficulty in making appointments to Scottish bishoprics was that every suppliant for promotion 'asserts that he has the favour of our dearest son in Christ, King James,' and he despatched a *legatus a latere*, the Bishop of Imola, armed with extraordinary powers and authorized to use them in curbing rebels.[3] When Imola reached Scotland, he presented James with the Golden Rose as a token of the Pope's favour, and executed his commission with severity but not with success.[4] He had barely left when Schevez and Blacader set out for Rome, to accomplish adjustments for which the Pope's personal consent was required. Their mission had notable results. Besides confirming a treaty lately made with Norway, Innocent conceded a request that he would make no appointment to any church or monastic office of greater value than two hundred florins until eight months after a vacancy occurred, in order that the king might have time to indicate his wishes with regard to the appointment.[1] This agreement, which was embodied in a Bull of Privilege (1487), amounted to a concession to the Crown of the right to nominate, and at the same time placed the temporalites of vacancies in the king's hands.[2] The urgent support given by the two foremost bishops to such a scheme, which ignored entirely the rights of Chapters and other electing bodies, shows the prevalence of the idea that the only two parties to be considered in the making of Church appointments were pope and king. In addition to this concession, a new honour was conferred upon Schevez. The see of St. Andrews, which had been an archbishopric since 1472, was now, in 1487, made primatial, and the archbishop was declared to be *Legatus Natus* of the Apostolic See, with all the rights and honours which the Archbishop of Canterbury possessed in England.[3]

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[1] Buchanan's estimate was in the main accepted by Spottiswoode, Sir James Balfour and Dr. David Laing.

[2] The lives of Graham and his successors are fully presented in *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, Herkless and Hannay (4 vols. 1907-13).

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[1] Theiner, p. 488 ff. At one stage Schevez withdrew from office, 'shewing contemptible weakness.'—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 109. Parliament protested against a papal 'provision' to Dunkeld made in 1483.—*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 171.

[2] The king seems to have appealed to Rome twice—in 1483 and 1485.

[3] Theiner, pp. 496, 507.

[4] At one stage apparently he laid the whole kingdom under interdict. His severity was contrasted with the kindliness of Bishop Elphinstone.

The increase of the dignity of St. Andrews roused resentment similar to that which Graham had had to face. This time the leadership in opposition lay with Glasgow. 'On their very journey home,' the Pope wrote severely, 'those illustrious orators and venerable brothers, Robert of Glasgow and William of St. Andrews, fell into various contentions and disputes.'[4] Innocent attempted to soothe Blacader by exempting him personally, and his diocese as long as he was bishop, from the jurisdiction of the primate,[5] but the concession proved to be inadequate. Glasgow claimed to have been, from the distant days of Kentigern, an independent centre of Church life, and could cite papal documents declaring her to be the 'special daughter' of Rome owning no master save the Pope.[6] Her noble cathedral, which numbered the new king, James IV, among its canons, her commanding and central site and the distinctive vigour of her mixed population[1] seemed incompatible with subjection to St. Andrews. Her protest was supported by the king, who saw 'no small danger' in having 'only one spiritual primate throughout his whole kingdom'; and the other bishops concurred. Indeed the desire that Glasgow should be made an archbishopric may fairly be said to have been national, the only objectors outside St. Andrews being the canons of Glasgow who, curiously but intelligibly, were unwilling that the power of their ecclesiastical superior should be increased. In 1488-9 parliament, by an express Act, declared that the honour and public good of the realm required that Glasgow should be invested with the same dignities, immunities and privileges as were possessed in England by York, and prescribed severe penalties upon all who should oppose this claim.[2] Again and again James IV pressed the matter upon Innocent. When his urgency seemed to fail, he showed his determination by abruptly refusing a request from the Pope for crusading money,[3] and in 1491 he wrote very vehemently, with a half-veiled threat that, if the unanimous request of parliament were not granted, the loyalty of Scotland to Rome would be imperilled.[4] At length, in 1492, Innocent yielded so far as to erect the see of Glasgow into an archbishopric, with Dunkeld, Dunblane, Candida Casa and Argyll as suffragans.[5] The title of primate, however, the pall and the dignity of *Legatus Natus* were refused—with this abatement of the refusal, that Blacader and his suffragans were not required during their lifetime to recognize the primacy or the legatine authority of St. Andrews. This evasive and ambiguous decision failed to secure peace.

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[1] The original of the Bull has disappeared. A careless transcript of it is reproduced in *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 157.

[2] *Rentale Sancti Andree*, p. x.

[3] *Statuta*, cxviii.

[4] Theiner, pp. 502-3.

[5] This was done in May 1488.

[6] See page 228.

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[1] The designation 'mater multarum gentium' is applied to Glasgow in a charter of William the Lyon.—*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, i. 63, 66.

[2] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 213. The king in 1488 appealed to the Pope for protection against 'the powerful archbishop' of St. Andrews in the perplexities associated with 'Robert Ireland.'—Hume Brown, i. 273; *Venet. Papers*, i. 199.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 188. At one stage the Lords of the Council advised that a papal ambassador should not be allowed to cross the Border till he had stated his business.—*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 596, 604, 607.

[5] Theiner, pp. 505-6. Dunblane was restored to St. Andrews in 1506 and Dunkeld before 1515.

Sharp quarrels with costly appeals to Rome ensued, and at last the Estates resolved to bring the matter to an end. An Act of parliament passed in 1493, after affirming that the contentions and pleas of the two archbishops at Rome were doing 'inestimable damage to the realm' and calling them to desist therefrom, declared that the king would write to the Pope telling him how the dispute should be settled in the interests of 'the common good of the realm' and that if the archbishops offered any opposition, their tenants and feuars would be commanded to withhold payment of all rents and dues.[1] This enactment closed the conflict for the time. Although the settlement which the king submitted to the Pope in accordance with the Act is not on record, he seems to have fallen back on the Bull of 1492 and to have endeavoured to secure a cardinalate for Blacader in compensation for his disappointment. Parliament reiterated its complaint that the kingdom was impoverished and the king's privilege diminished by the taking of appeals to Rome, and enjoined churchmen going abroad to specify the intention of their journeys.

The firmness with which king and parliament thus asserted their authority and challenged the jurisdiction of the Pope is in line with parliamentary enactments of 1483 and 1496 prohibiting with increased vigour the purchase of benefices at Rome.[2] It seemed as if Scotland were well advanced on the road to emancipation. The emancipation claimed, however, was for the nation not for the Church. 'The common good of the realm' which parliament had in view was, on the one hand, the abatement of fees and dues payable at Rome and, on the other hand, the termination of social disorder caused by the rivalries of churchmen who appealed to the Curia. How definitely the king intended that he with parliament should rule the Church was shown in 1496, when he invested a new provost of St. Mary of the Rock at St. Andrews without even mentioning the archbishop or in any way recognizing his spiritual authority.[3]

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[1] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 232-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 16, 237.

[3] Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, pp. 295-6.

Except the unfortunate Graham, no bishop of the times put forth a claim of independence for the Church.[1]

An equally significant feature of the dispute is the absence of any consideration for the spiritual interests of the Church. There is no trace of a desire for effective administration such as had been indicated in the Bull of Erection—no hint that the one plan rather than the other would conduce to clerical efficiency or to religious discipline. From first to last the question is argued on the ground of privilege and perquisites. The ambition and cupidity of the contending prelates are assumed as motives, and the highest considerations brought into view are the desire for distinction cherished by the communities concerned, the traditional supremacy of the Pope and a patriotic objection to the spending of Scottish money at Rome. Never once, even in the exuberant rhetoric of the correspondence, is there any serious reference to a religious issue.

This obliteration of spiritual interests is indicated by the next two appointments to the primacy. On the death of Schevez in 1497, the office was conferred at the king's request upon his brother James, duke of Ross, the fixed payment of 3300 gold florins being made to the papal camera. The canonical age of eligibility was thirty, or in exceptional circumstances twenty-seven. James was only eighteen. Within the next five years he was with papal sanction appointed to the abbacies of Holyrood, Dunfermline and Arbroath, in flagrant defiance of Church law and Acts of parliament.[2] Although he showed no interest in the Church,[3] and perhaps was never consecrated, he bore the titles of his offices, signed a few deeds and drew the large stipends, while both pope and king were enriched, the former by the heavy entry-taxes and the annates, the latter by his acquisition of the primate's private properties.

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[1] Schevez' 'protectorate' of the Glasgow canons, his allies, is no exception.

[2] He drew the revenues of 'the three richest benefices in Scotland, if the priory of St. Andrews be excepted.'—*Rentale Sancti Andree*, xvi. The offices were held *in commendam*. He seems to have resigned Holyrood when appointed to Dunfermline.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 193 n.

[3] *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 36; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 201 ff.

In 1504 James was succeeded by a boy of twelve, Alexander Stewart, the king's illegitimate son.[1] A Dominican monk was nominated by the king, and appointed by the Pope, to act as his substitute; and the necessary payments to Rome were raised by special taxation of the churches in the diocese of St. Andrews. Like his predecessor, Alexander held several abbacies and discharged only a few of the formal duties of his various offices.[2] No stain of any kind rests upon his character. In the two or three years of his nominal primacy which he spent on the Continent, he secured the admiration of Erasmus, who acted for six months as his tutor,[3] and on his return to Scotland he showed his sympathy with the new learning by liberality towards St. Andrews University.[4] When he died on Flodden Field, he was lamented as a young Marcellus;[5] but his actual services to the Church had been as imaginary as were those of Virgil's boy to the Roman Empire. His very innocence shows that the failure of the attempt to unify the Church on a hierarchical basis was not due to the personal sins of archbishops. Coherence and solidity could not be conveyed by the creation of an office which was bought at a price, occupied by a child, and manipulated by king and pope. Before Alexander's death, the exemption granted to Glasgow had expired through the death of Blacader; and the king, who now naturally favoured his son's diocese, prevented a renewal of the exemption by representing to the Pope that the primate was 'still weak and young.'[6] Yet Forman, bishop of Moray, secured in 1509 a similar exemption,[7] which he used to shield him in a course of disastrous if not dishonest diplomacy. His political enterprises lay wholly apart from the concerns of the Church, and in no sense represented its life. It is true that

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[1] Herkless and Hannay conclude that Alexander was born either in 1491 or in 1493.

[2] At the age of sixteen Alexander attested the settlement of a dispute between two monasteries as 'Archbishop, Primate and Legate.'

[3] Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1634; *Opera*, ii. 554.

[4] See page 378 n. 1.

[5] 'What hadst thou,' wrote Erasmus, 'to do with Mars—thou who wert the disciple of the Muses and of Christ?'

[6] *Statuta*, cxxiv.

[7] *Ibid.*, cxxv. Other exemptions were granted to royal favourites.—*Venet. Papers*, i. 199.

Scotland had learned that she had interests separate from those of Rome and proved that she was willing at a terrible cost to refuse the guidance of the Pope; but in the shaping of her policy in the years before the national crisis the voice of the Church as a Church was not heard. If Forman favoured one course, Elphinstone favoured another, and the reasons which influenced the two bishops were political rather than religious. There was no 'Church of Scotland'—audible, visible, or in any sense effective. When Pope Julius II convened a Council to meet in the Lateran in May 1512, the king called 'his prelates and barons' together to consider if deputies should be sent.[1] The envoys of the Pope who visited Scotland in that crucial year dealt exclusively with the king, not even asking for the support of archbishops or bishops. No doubt Henry VIII, in writing to Pope Leo X after Flodden, declared with some truth that the Scots had been 'despisers of the Holy Chair';[2] but for the refusal to obey Rome the Church in Scotland deserves neither shame nor glory. It is not strange that, apart from the national mourning, 'the flowers of the forest were a' wede away'; the special grief of earnest churchmen is recorded, for, if Alexander Stewart had been spared, the Church might for once have been united under a truly Christian primate.

In this chapter we have seen the increasing impotence of the Church as an organization, the practical disappearance of the Provincial Council and the mischievous strife which followed the erection of archbishoprics; the subjection of the Church on the one hand to king and parliament and on the other hand to the papacy; its incapacity to check the self-will and avarice of individual prelates, and its consequent failure to influence national policy. We have also seen that, while the idea that national interests must be guarded against papal rapacity was steadily asserted at the cost of collision with Rome, royalty sometimes sided with the nation against Rome, sometimes made common cause with Rome against the nation, and that, as the period advanced, the Church as a national and spiritual force lost effective unity. In the years immediately preceding Flodden there was in Scotland no external organism, either Roman or Scottish, in which the religion of the nation found expression or guidance. We shall consider in the following chapter how Church life was maintained under these conditions.

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[1] 'Obviously,' writes Robertson, 'this was not a Provincial Council.' *Statuta*, cx. n.

[2] 'Sanctae Sedis contemptores.'—Theiner, p. 511.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHURCH UNDER THE FOUR STEWARTS, JAMES I TO JAMES IV

1424-1513

(2) *Church Life*

Disorder of outlying dioceses—Dilapidation of monasteries—Energy of Observants—Bishops and cathedrals—Parish priests—Influence exercised by Rome—Progress of civilization—Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities—Spread of Lollardy—Martyrdom of Craw—Lollards of Kyle—Religion of the people—James IV—William Dunbar.

THE inner and domestic life of the Church in this period was no less distinctive than its history as an institution.

Of facts which Church historians have frequently ignored, perhaps the most salient is that large districts of the country were still outside the life of the nation and uncontrolled by its Church authorities. For Orkney and Shetland the Scottish Church had practically no responsibility. In the reign of James I bishops of Orkney were appointed by the kings of Denmark and, down to the year 1462, they took part in Scandinavian State functions. Although in 1469 a bishop of Orkney appeared in the Scottish parliament and the see of Orkney was in 1472 made subject to St. Andrews by a papal Bull, the subjection was for some years thereafter merely formal. Scandinavian ideas and habits proved tenacious, and until the sixteenth century had well begun, the Orcadian Church was not in any real sense Scottish.

At the extreme south-west there was a similar detachment. The diocese of Galloway, or Candida Casa, with its sturdy, hybrid population, had continued to assert its independence by acknowledging York as its metropolitan,[1] and throughout the fifteenth century this idea survived. In 1430 the 'prelates and ministers' of the diocese represented to James I that they were 'burdened and bruised' by not being recognized as Scottish, and by Royal Letter they were invested in all the rights and privileges of Scottish churchmen.[2] As in the case of Orkney the actual incorporation was tardy. The abbeys in the diocese, which were in favour with the earls of Galloway and other local magnates, absorbed so many church livings that in 1456 a complaint reached Rome that few were left for ordinary parish priests.[3] The bishopric was in 1472 placed under St. Andrews, and in 1491 declared to be one of the suffragans of Glasgow; but such a declaration carried with it no real administrative power.

More important for history were the fortunes of the Church in the western islands and coast lands, which were nominally subject to the bishops of Argyll, or Lismore, and of the Isles, or Sudreys. The endeavour of the Crown to reduce the Lords of the Isles to submission, which began in 1427, was intermittent but lasted for seventy years. Meanwhile their territory was in turmoil, and the life of their subjects was rude and indeed half-savage.[4] In the eyes of an observant Spaniard (Pedro de Ayala) who visited Scotland in 1498, they were a completely different nation from the Scots of the mainland. In an Act of parliament of 1503 they are described as 'a people almost gone wild for lack and fault of justice,'[5] and as late as 1518 John Major speaks of them as 'the wild Scots who prefer war to peace and whose violence can scarcely be curbed.'[6] In this, the region of the first missionary triumphs of Columba, the organization of the Church was singularly defective. The two dioceses—Argyll and the Isles—overlapped each other, but there was no collision, neither of them having any influence. The Argyll bishopric barely existed as a Church force. In 1425 a pitiful appeal to Rome in regard to certain properties brought out the fact that there was 'no supply of lawyers' (*i.e.* no administrators of canon law) 'in the city and diocese of Argyll,'[1] and the appeal was referred by the Curia to the bishop and dean of Dunkeld. In 1462 the bishop appeared as a suppliant for leave to appropriate the church of Dunoon for his support, being in abject poverty,[2] and at the close of the period with which this chapter deals, the little cathedral on the remote island of Lismore lay in ruins, having neither bishop nor Chapter.[3] The bishopric of the Isles, which had been detached from the bishopric of Man when the latter came under English jurisdiction,[4] was in a still worse plight. Although a bishop of the Isles appeared at a meeting of the Scottish Estates in 1430, he had neither a home nor a cathedral church in his diocese. He was allowed to live on Iona, which was still subject to Dunkeld, but administration in his diocese was sometimes entrusted to other bishops, sometimes to the Abbot of Iona.[5] When appeals reached Rome, the papal officials seem to have been unacquainted with the geography of Scotland, and to have remitted each case to the most powerful of the bishops likely to be within reach. In fact the Isles had almost ceased to be a bishopric, when under James IV Iona was appointed temporarily as the bishop's seat, the abbacy being assigned *in commendam* to the bishop.[6] Until this took place in 1498 or 1499, the islands and the coast-line, from Arran northwards as far as Lewis, had no settled place in the episcopal system,[1] and the exercise of discipline depended upon appeals to Rome.

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[1] See page 347.

[2] *Statuta*, cccvi.

[3] Theiner, p. 401.

[4] Hume Brown (i. 317, 319) reckons the civilization of the Isles as beginning in 1506.

[5] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 249.

[6] Major, *Hist. of Greater Britain*, S.H.S., p. 49.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 406, 407.

[2] Theiner, p. 434; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii. 3136.

[3] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i. No. 3141. In 1489 a bishop of Argyll was charged with malversation; he was deposed for contumacy in 1491. —*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 387.

[4] Bellesheim (ii. 43) dates the separation in 1380; Grub (i. 360) thinks that it was later. Dowden's suggestion, that the English and Scottish portions of the diocese gradually drifted apart, is in keeping with all the documents. See *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 289, and editor's *note*. The date of the subjection of Sodor to York is uncertain.—*Statuta*, cxiv. George Hepburn, 'bishop of Sodor' (1511-13), was a thorough Scot; he died on Flodden Field.

[5] In the confused situation the only interesting matter is the ambiguous, or shifting, position of the Abbot of Iona.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 461, viii. 9, 24, 473, 664; *Scotichronicon*, xvi. 17; *Extracta* (Bann. Club), p. 233; Theiner, p. 501.

[6] The appointment was intended to be temporary—'until the principal kirk in the Isle of Man be recovered from the Englishmen.'—*Regist. Sec. Sig.*, No. 428. The modern designation of the church as a 'cathedral' ignores the history of Columba's sacred home. It was a cathedral only for half a century in the very darkest period of Scottish Church life. Even if it was used (Grub, i. 371) between 1430 and 1498 by the bishops of Sodor, it was not their 'principal kirk,' but an abbey church.

The irregularity was not limited by the coast-line, but extended inland throughout the large highland diocese of Dunkeld, which was involved in the disorder caused by wars and feuds. The bishops of Dunkeld were guilty again and again of unscrupulous and avaricious use of their authority, and for many years they were unable to convene their clergy owing to the ravages of marauding highlanders. The disorder of Perthshire was at its height at the middle but lasted till the close of the fifteenth century, when a good bishop was startled to discover in a time of plague how 'few parish churches there were in his diocese.' Besides subdividing one parish, he attempted to meet the emergency by distributing holy water in which he had dipped a bone of the blessed Columba, receiving in return the reply, 'Would that he had sent us some of his best ale!'[2]

This rude retort indicates the inevitable results of the confusion and neglect. In the western and north-western highlands Church order and Church life reached a very low ebb. If the Papal Registers may be trusted, and they are the only direct sources of information, the parish priests were as a rule sons of priests, who succeeded their fathers in office without any question being raised, until some dispute as to property led to an appeal to Rome, the appeal not being always beneficial even when it succeeded. A vicar in Islay, for example, was excommunicated in 1430 for assaulting the parish clerk, but defied the excommunication until 1436, when a prior was ordered to prosecute him and to appoint to the living another priest's son, who had taken the case to Rome.[3] In the same year the vicar of the important parish of Knapdale (Cnabdul) was guilty of dilapidation, simony, perjury and 'other crimes,' besides keeping a concubine publicly, and the vicar of Kilcalmonell, who was 'ignorant of the language of his parishioners,' was tried for the same offences, both offenders being supplanted by priests' sons in terms of papal ordinances.[1] The only surviving token of a brighter ministry is a permit granted to a rector in Argyll to appropriate a neighbouring church living, 'in order that, according to the custom of the country, he might give meat and drink to all comers.'[2]

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[1] The 'Isles' is one of the bishoprics placed under St. Andrews in 1472, but it is not named among the western bishoprics assigned to the Archbishop of Glasgow in 1492. The omission may be connected with the abolition of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493.

[2] *Lives of Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 40; cf. Theiner, pp. 379, 380, 412, 413; Grub, i. 390, 399.

[3] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 597.

It is difficult to present such details without the semblance of partisanship, yet they must be recorded if we are to understand the religious history of Scotland. They explain the fact that in the sixteenth century[3] the districts in question had been but partially Christianized and were pervaded by Celtic and Scandinavian superstitions; and they imply no charge of culpable maladministration against the agents of Rome. The failure of the system was natural, probably it was unavoidable. Even if the popes had been inspired, it was scarcely possible that their secretaries, resident at Rome, should supervise a remote and unknown territory swept by the storms of tribal strife.

Turning to the more civilized districts, we may consider first the condition of the abbeys and priories and the character of monastic life. In this matter it is specially needful to discriminate facts from inferences drawn from the state of monasticism elsewhere. While Scottish abbeys had never approached the culture of the best English foundations, they were in the fifteenth century subject to special strain which ruined some of them and impoverished them all. Their financial shrinkage may to some extent be explained by the ravages of war, but it was mainly due to maladministration. In 1424-5, as we have seen,[4] James I ascribed the moral deterioration of the Augustinians and Benedictines, who held about three-fourths of the Scottish monasteries, to the negligence of abbots and priors, and the

[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters.*, viii. 468, 596, 597, 625.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii. 156.

[3] The Papal Registers published at this date (1913) end with the year 1447; but other sources show that the turmoil in the highlands continued for another half-century and the results for longer.

[4] See page 337.

records of the following years exhibit in detail the justice of his impeachment. Within half a century, abbots of Arbroath, Holyrood, Melrose, Kinloss and Sweetheart and priors of St. Andrews, Fyvie, Dundrennan and Fala were impeached by their own monks either for immoralities or for tampering with the properties of their monasteries. Indeed scarcely a single monastery stands clear of such reproach.[1] As the fifteenth century advanced, the names of abbots and priors appeared less frequently in such impeachments, most of them being absentees and some being laymen, who in defiance of parliament held their offices *in commendam*;[2] but this brought no betterment, and indeed placed monasteries in charge of monks of lower rank who had not the authority needed for efficient administration. When we find popes sometimes advising kings to check monastic irregularities, sometimes appointing children to abbacies, sometimes conferring the office upon archbishops or upon kings themselves, it becomes clear that the idea of personal superintendence of monasteries by their official chiefs had disappeared. Such appointments became the rule and excited no surprise; it came to be understood that the abbot was not responsible for his abbey and that its income was his personal property. Frequently pensions from abbey funds were assigned to favourites of kings or popes who had not even a nominal connexion with the foundations.[3] Accordingly, while the abbeys were nominally wealthy, the resident monks were reduced to a poverty which was sometimes abject. Such priories as Urquhart in the north and Coldingham in the south were extinguished. Pluscarden and Lindores became unable to support more than half a dozen monks, and once-famous abbeys like Arbroath and Paisley transmitted pathetic appeals to Rome. In such straits the race of studious monks, which had never been vigorous or productive in Scotland, became all but extinct. Early in the reign of James I it was reported at the headquarters of the Cistercian Order that the Cistercians in Scotland were 'in a low condition,'[1] and no success attended an attempt to improve them by a visitation.[2] That monarch, who, although he criticized the liberality of David I, was himself liberal in promoting Church interests, founded a monastery of Carthusians at Perth in 1429; but the Carthusians proved unpopular, owing to their disavowal of miraculous gifts, and made little way elsewhere.[3] Myln, a devoted churchman, who was 'protector of studies' at Aberdeen from 1500 onwards, found, when he was appointed to an abbacy, that 'the study of literature was quite forgotten and that men of learning had almost disappeared.'[4] In this period one case alone is recorded in which an abbot set himself to amend the discipline of his monastery (Kinloss) and to educate his monks. The Mendicant friaries also deteriorated sadly. Hector Boece writes of the Dominicans that they had so neglected their sacred duties that in his time they had passed into contempt.[5] The Franciscan friaries planted in the fourteenth century pined and dwindled, partly through adversity, partly through moral delinquency.[6] In 1481 the Dundee friars required to pawn their books to save themselves from starvation.[7] James IV wrote to the Pope in 1507 that the ordinary, or Conventual, Franciscans were a

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[1] Theiner, pp. 418, 421, 430, 458; *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 269, 294, 295, 551, 671; *Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 238. The 'sons of nuns' appear as petitioners from 1425 onwards.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 381, viii. 381.

[2] It should be said that Lesley, who selects 1472 as the date when monastic licence becomes glaring, ascribes it not to absenteeism but to the personal influence of abbots and priors, who brought 'voluptuous and secular' habits from court. Lesley divides the blame between kings, who sought promotion for their favourites, and popes, 'who got great profit and sums of money thereby.' His description of the results, in sixteenth-century Scots, is graphic: 'Than ceissit all religious and godlye myndis and deidis; quhairwith the secularis and temporall men, beand sklanderit with thair evill example, fell fra all devocioun and godlynes to the warkis of wikedness, quhairof daylie mekill evill did increase.'—*Hist. of Scotland* (Bann. Club), i. 39.

[3] Theiner, p. 418; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 31. In papal language a 'pension' implied no past service; it meant an allowance.

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[1] *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 224 ff.

[2] In 1475 the Head of the French Cistercians wrote that all his abbeys, being held *in commendam*, were laid waste.—*Cambridge Modern History*, i. 657.

[3] Bower says that he has heard of four Carthusian settlements, but he writes vaguely and makes blunders.—*Scotichronicon*, xvi. 18.

[4] Myln was appointed to Cambuskenneth in 1516.—Edgar, *History of Education in Scotland*, p. 236.

[5] *Lives of Bishops of Aberdeen* (New Spalding Club), p. 93.

[6] Aeneas Sylvius describes the Franciscans as 'zealous in debating minute points of faith, but not in evoking from it an exemplary standard of life.'

[7] *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 223.

'decaying flock, the sheep of which obeyed neither laws nor rule.'[1]

Amidst this decay the Mendicants received a vigorous reinforcement. Throughout Europe the Observant Order of Franciscans, which insisted upon strict observance of the rules of St. Francis, had derived a new impulse from the piety of Bernardine of Siena and rendered special service to the fifteenth-century popes. James I, at the time when Church affairs were most confused, invited the Observants to Scotland, and a Dutch detachment of them arrived in 1447.[2] Costly buildings had been erected for them in Edinburgh, but from these they turned aside, saying that manifestly they were intended for great men, not for the poor brothers of St. Francis. They lodged in a lowly dwelling until 1455 or 1458, when the Pope overcame their scruples by intimating that the buildings in question belonged to the Chair of St. Peter and that they might safely occupy them without breaking their vows. About the same date good Bishop Kennedy planted another Observant friary at St. Andrews, a third was founded at Perth in 1460, and before the end of the century the number had risen to eight, the last being planted at Stirling by James IV, their most liberal benefactor. They were small settlements; probably there were never more than fifty or sixty Observants in Scotland at one time; but they commended themselves to religiously minded laymen and churchmen by their energy, their adaptability and their vigour in preaching. From burghs and other authorities, as well as from private donors, they received modest gifts for their maintenance, and they were frequently entrusted with alms for the poor and sick, to whom they ministered sedulously. The Conventuals, who viewed their work with envy, opposed and attempted to absorb them; but in 1507 James IV, who styled himself Protector of Observance, pleaded their cause with the Pope, urging that it would be a grave injury to religion if they were merged in the worldly Conventuals. His laudation of them was unqualified. 'To them,' he writes, 'he has entrusted the purification of his conscience and the prime ardour of his devotion. Theirs is the popular religion. By their care the salvation of souls here is most diligently advanced, the negligence of others more fully remedied, the sacraments administered and the word of Christ spread abroad by the lips of the faithful.'[1] No doubt the 'conscience' of James was a curious one, the purification of which was incomplete, and his desire for 'the salvation of souls' may easily be derided. Yet the sincerity and devotedness of the fifteenth-century Observants have other attestations. Before the date of the above letter, sisterhoods of the Third Order had initiated a school for girls at Aberdour in Fife and a convent at Dundee;[2] the education of youths was cared for by the Observants of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. It was, however, to their preaching that they chiefly owed their influence. Their sermons, which were in the vernacular, sometimes in Gaelic, seem to have been homely, direct and free from respect of persons. They exercised their calling both in town market-places and in neglected rural parishes, and their personal life had a genuine asceticism which even Henry VIII acknowledged in the English Observants. At the same time they showed little of that anti-Church and anti-Roman mood by which the work of their Order in other lands was often marked, and they were regarded both by bishops and by popes with favour, as atoning for the glaring shortcomings of monks and parish priests. The charge brought by satirists of the following generation that incompetent bishops hired Observants as substitutes, the donations made to them by persons of all ranks, and the confidence placed in them by donors indicate that they were recognized as efficient in their ministry. It is true that they maintained their character for little more than a single generation; yet during that time their 'loyalty to their vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, and in the last resort to their Church, constitutes one of the brightest pages of the history of Romanism in Scotland.'[1]

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[1] 'Tabidus grex.'—Ruddiman, *Epistolae*, i. 23.

[2] So Moir Bryce. According to Dowden they arrived some years later, under the patronage of Mary of Gueldres, the wife of James II.—*English Historical Review*, xxiv.

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[1] Ruddiman, *Epistolae*, i. 33.
[2] The Aberdour nunnery was chartered in 1497, the Dundee nunnery in 1502.

About the cathedrals, which were the official centres of Church life, it is difficult to speak generally. Cathedral efficiency depended largely upon the character of individual bishops; for, although the cathedrals had been organized on English models, bishops had come to have more authority over their Chapters than in England. There were bishops whose immoralities would have discredited the most secular calling and whom their Chapters despised and hated.[2] In such cases the sacred buildings were scenes of strife which passed sometimes into personal violence, and the cathedral worship was as disorderly as the dioceses.[3] Other bishops, who were men of ability and prudence, were mainly occupied with State affairs, spending months continuously at Rome or Paris; but even among these there were some of devout character and high purpose, whose merits were reflected in the administration and the general condition of their cathedrals.[4] The most eminent were James Kennedy of St. Andrews and William Elphinstone of Aberdeen, during whose episcopates the life of their respective cathedrals was orderly and active, and there were other bishops, less highly gifted, who made serious attempts to cope with the grave difficulties by which they were faced.

The prime difficulty undoubtedly was the increasing absenteeism of cathedral officials. Glasgow, for instance, had in 1455 thirty-two canonries, but few if any of the canons were resident; and, although some success attended efforts to check this specially glaring offence, in 1501 the dean and eight of the canons were still absentees.[1] So in 1488 the non-resident canons of Elgin numbered ten. Indeed in most cathedrals the idea prevailed that the tenure of a canonry did not involve personal service, and the institution of a new canonry meant no more than an additional charge upon the cathedral revenues. The results were not everywhere so grave as might be supposed. Non-resident canons were required to appoint 'vicars' to occupy their stalls as well as proctors to represent them at Chapter meetings; in some cathedrals the vicars were formed into corporate bodies with fixed privileges and stipends; in others non-resident canons forfeited a fixed proportion of their incomes.[2] The Aberdonians, in particular, who laid down many such regulations, succeeded in maintaining cathedral ritual with considerable decorum; yet even at Aberdeen the regulations were not consistently enforced, and in most cathedrals the endeavours to give reality to the nominal staff were faint and convulsive. As in England, it was quite usual for bishops to draw stipends as canons of their own cathedrals. The conception of a bishop's title to deal with benefices by which serious churchmen were guided is frankly expressed by Hector Boece, who, after telling how Elphinstone adorned his cathedral, built churches, restored discipline and made a collection of the *Lives* of Scottish saints, adds, as one of the high merits of his hero, that he raised many members of the Elphinstone family from humble estate to opulence, presenting them with wide lands and ecclesiastical offices and enjoining them frequently to enjoy their prosperity with reverence, remembering whence they had sprung.[3] Elphinstone is said to have framed a statute prescribing that canons must be graduates in theology and also resident;[4] but neither he nor any other bishop could prevent appointments of children to office which were requested by the king and conceded by the Pope.

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[1] *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 263.

[2] Early in the fifteenth century the licentiousness of bishops was sometimes flagrant. In 1428 'the son of a bishop and a noble virgin' laid a petition before the Pope, and in 1431 the 'son of a bishop and an unmarried woman' appeared as a petitioner.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 19, 26, 322; *Regist. Sec. Sig.*, i. 1552.

[3] In 1449 a bishop was assaulted by his archdeacon for having ordered him to put away his concubine. In 1462 the Archdeacon of Brechin assaulted his bishop in the cathedral.—Theiner, p. 444; *Medieval Church*, p. 88.

[4] Catalogues of the cathedral libraries of Aberdeen (1432) and Glasgow (1436) indicate, in the case of Aberdeen at least, some study of the Fathers and of the 'Sentences.'—*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxiii.; cf. page 321. Ingeram, bishop of Aberdeen 1441-58, wrote commentaries on canon law.

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[1] Pluralities, which were even more numerous than in the fourteenth century implied of course non-residence. For example see *Regist. Brech.*, i. 98, ii. 34.

[2] See page 294. The details of cathedral management and offices are lucidly presented by Dowden, *Medieval Church*.

[3] *Lives of Bishops of Aberdeen*, p. 100.

[4] Bellesheim, ii. 127. Drummond of Hawthornden credits James I with a similar enactment.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 14.

The ordinary ministrations of parish priests are rarely mentioned in the Church documents or the general literature of this period, being entirely subordinate to monastic and cathedral agencies. The Papal Registers show that the number of priests' sons who received papal dispensation to become priests was very large,[1] and the fact that such men sometimes, like Elphinstone,[2] reached religious distinction can scarcely be regarded as a vindication of their fathers' unchastity. The Antipope Felix V has the credit of having issued an injunction that a certain proportion of benefices should be given to men of letters. Under James I and James II more heed was paid to qualifications for the priesthood than under James III and James IV, whose flagrant example of intruding unworthy men into the higher Church offices was widely followed with deplorable results. Parish priests, through 'the appropriation' of the endowments of their churches, had rarely a living wage and in consequence made a charge for their services, refusing ministrations to those who were unwilling or unable to make payment. This 'selling of the sacraments' had been prohibited again and again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but the prohibitions now lapsed, not as unnecessary but because they were futile, sacramental dues being for many priests the only means of living. The rights of sanctuary were so grossly abused that in 1469 parliament intervened with an enactment that 'the immunitie of the kirk' did not apply to 'fore-thought felonie.'[3] The leasing, or 'setting,' of Church lands to laymen by the rectors of parishes steadily increased. Sanctities of worship were lightly esteemed by the priests in charge, 'hallowed things' being taken to 'unhallowed places.' In 1503 parliament made a vain attempt to check the holding of markets and fairs within churches and churchyards. In such endeavours little if any assistance was rendered by parish priests, whose influence indeed steadily diminished. It was mainly to the Mendicants that parishioners looked for the ministration of word and sacrament, and the Mendicants depressed, where they did not rival, the priests' offices. Erasmus, writing in 1502, declares that, among laymen, to call a man a cleric or priest or monk was an unpardonable insult, and his dictum is a fair indication of the sentiment which prevailed in Scotland at that date. There was a general disposition, specially in the burgher class, to regard papal authority with indifference, great churchmen with envy and the inferior clergy with contempt or ridicule.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 328, 333, 396, 397, 437, 438, 468, 532, 541, 554, 592, 593, 627.

[2] Roman writers have sought to evade the fact that Elphinstone was a priest's son, but the papal dispensation is published by Theiner. There is irony in the fact that the dispensation was granted by Alexander Borgia.—Theiner, p. 508.

[3] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 95, 96.

Attempts were occasionally made to amend parochial discipline and to protect priests in their properties by processes of excommunication or 'general cursing.' In 1443, for example, the king and the Three Estates ordained that bishops should assist one another in carrying out such a process by Church censures against all who 'broke the freedom of Holy Kirk,' and also against particular offenders.[1] Two forms of fifteenth-century 'cursings' have been preserved—the one a Latin form prescribed by the Provincial Council, the other a reproduction of it in the vernacular with enlargements, which was read in all churches in the diocese of Aberdeen four times a year.[2] Most of the offences named in them are common crimes, such as those dealt with in Trail's Statutes, witchcraft and dealing with witches being included; but emphasis is laid upon transgression of Church order and rights—plotting against bishops, withholding tithes, preventing rectors and vicars from disposing of tithes, burning churches or houses without authority,[3] forging papal Bulls, laying violent hands on priests or clerics except in self-defence. Men guilty of such offences, with all 'heretics confessed and known,' were not only thrust out of the confines of Holy Mother Church, but blotted from the Book of Life, doomed to the destiny of Dathan and Abiram, and consigned to 'the deepest pot of hell ever to remain with cursit Nero, the wicked emperor, and his cursit fellowship, unless they come to amend after their power.' This sentence was published ceremonially, after sermon, by bishops, candles in hand; and with the Amen the candles were cast on the ground and the bells tolled. Such cursings, or 'waryings,' were so frequent that they were regarded with as little awe as the papal ban which was often laid upon the whole nation, and they resulted only in the idea, to which satirists gave voice, that the infliction of eternal woe was one of the main occupations of the clergy.[1]

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[1] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 33.

[2] Printed in *Statuta*, ii. 5-8.

[3] 'Without leif askit and obtenit of thaim that has power tharof.'—*Ibid.*, ii. 7. This indicates that arson might be practised without criminality.

The influence of Rome upon Church life, although already indicated generally, was so determinative, and differentiated Scotland so markedly from other European countries, that some of its features must be clearly defined. Only at one stage (1481-3) did the popes succeed in modifying the policy of the nation. They exercised little control over diocesan, parochial and monastic agencies. The legates who were twice or thrice despatched 'to reform the Church' accomplished nothing. There is not a single Church statute or ordinance of the period which can be ascribed to Rome. Yet by conferring appointments to Church offices and granting exemptions from Church law, the popes exercised an influence so effective as to justify fully the statement of a singularly impartial writer that Scotland had 'a closer connexion with Rome than any other country in Christendom.'[2] Long after England, France, Germany and even Spain had gained virtual independence in the appointment of bishops and abbots, Scottish churchmen believed that the Pope alone could confirm them in office, and the counter-claims of king, parliament and Chapters, emphatic as they were, failed to weaken the belief.[3] Accordingly communication with Rome was steadily maintained,[1] even at times when papal injunctions and Bulls were ignored by the nation. The king himself had his agent resident at Rome—sometimes an Italian priest, sometimes a Scottish prelate or baron—the business of the agent being to secure such appointments as the king desired; but private candidates for offices either journeyed to Rome or secured exemption from the journey as a special privilege. When an appointment was disputed, priority was avowedly given to the candidate who presented his case personally. This applied not only to bishoprics and abbacies: the rudest claimant for a highland benefice knew that his bishop or his king could give him no security of tenure without the sanction of the Holy Father, and, when he could muster funds, he posted across Europe for 'confirmation.' We read in 1429 of two disputes about benefices having been argued thrice at Rome, and in 1437 of a case having been four times appealed.[2] Even at a much later stage, when parliament had prohibited these costly expeditions, the recipients of benefices were restless until they had received papal confirmation, and, when appointments were specially irregular, the desire for confirmation was of course specially strong. No parliamentary enactment could clear a priest's son from the 'defect of his birth' or entitle a cathedral Chapter to appoint a child to a canonry. So it was that the most strenuous civil prohibitions proved futile. At the very time when Acts of parliament were proclaiming penalties upon those who took appeals to Rome, the king's proctor was urging the Pope to confirm one of the innumerable royal bastards in a group of wealthy livings and tendering payment of the stated taxes, while the sons of Argyllshire priests were bargaining in the forecourt of the Camera for induction into the benefices of their deceased fathers.[3]

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[1] *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, lxx. ff. In the next generation Major recognizes the mischief done by unjust excommunication.—*Hist. of Greater Brit.*, p. 172.

[2] Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 224.

[3] In the case of bishops, exemption from the obligation of journeying to Rome became frequent.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 465, viii. 144, 174, 602, 613.

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[1] See pages 215, 245. Very often men who had journeyed to Rome failed to secure restitution when they returned to Scotland.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, viii. 203, 204, 375, 490.

[2] *Ibid.*, viii. 104, 106, 665.

[3] This curious contrast is illustrated by the fact that in 1483, when James IV had abruptly declined to send money to Rome, Arbroath abbey expended 3000 gold ducats at Rome in promoting the appointment of an abbot.

The moral effect upon Scotland of those visits to Rome can scarcely be exaggerated. It would be impossible, within the limits of this volume, to exhibit fully the degradation and pollution of the papal city, which aroused the scorn of humanists and the alarm of loyal friends of the Church. Yet the consequences cannot be ignored. The fountain of grace was poisoned at its source and the poison spread to the most distant lands. Petitioners and ambassadors conveyed to their homes disgraceful ideas of Church office which were tolerated and even sanctioned by vicars of God and their counsellors. Why should an Argyllshire priest be ashamed of the defect of his birth when he saw the highest honours of the Church bestowed upon the offspring of cardinals? Why should he blush for his own concubine when a crowd of Roman prostitutes were paying taxes to the city treasury?[1] A bishop of Ross need not fear to acknowledge his son, when Pope Innocent VIII made public provision for seven of his own bastards.[2] Surely a Scottish king might innocently purchase a canonry for himself or his little boy, seeing that a papal functionary was appointed for the purpose of such transactions. Could it be regarded as bribery or simony for a bishop of St. Andrews to pay 3300 gold florins to expedite his consecration, or for a bishop of Glasgow to pay 2000,[3] when the tariff was prescribed and claimed by the Pope's officials? The wealthiest of Scottish pluralists was a poor man beside Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, upon whom his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, bestowed seven bishoprics besides an archbishopric and two abbeys. Although Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, was styled the Magnificent, and made some show on Clydeside by building manses for his canons, his magnificence was dim in comparison with the splendour of the princes of the Church at Rome. The rioting of half-savage Caithness tribesmen was far less murderous than the drunken debauchery which ruled unchecked between the Vatican and the Tiber.[1] It is true that no Ulrich von Hutten described to the Scots in stinging verse the uproar and licence he had witnessed at Rome, and no Scottish Erasmus had looked with scornful eyes at the successor of St. Peter heading a festive procession of mercenaries in the streets of Bologna. And yet these things were not done in a corner. As early as 1460 Pope Pius II, when rebuking a cardinal, his nephew, for flagrant debauchery, wrote: 'We are charged with being enriched and promoted, that we may procure means to indulge ourselves; we are despised by temporal princes and derided by laity; the very Vicar of Christ is involved in contempt because he appears to countenance such things.' In the following half-century the nepotism, venality and impurity of churchmen at Rome became more flagrant and reached its climax a few years before Flodden. Scottish churchmen were in specially close communication with Rome. Some of them caught the infection; others began to shrink from the contact.

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[1] In 1490, when the population of Rome was not more than 100,000, the public women numbered 6000.—*Cambridge Modern History*, i. 672.

[2] *Regist. Sec. Sig.*, i. 1552. Innocent was the first pope to acknowledge his own children.

[3] The charge (*taxa*) was carefully graded, in proportion to the wealth of each diocese. Glasgow paid 2000 to 2500 florins; Aberdeen 1250; Dunkeld 450; Argyll 110 to 200. Dunfermline abbey was rated as high as the see of St. Andrews, and Arbroath even higher. Holyrood, Paisley and Kelso abbeys were midway between the sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow.—*Rentale Sancti Andree*, xvi.

Individual churchmen as a rule made payment of papal dues without complaint, but it was different with the attempts which were made to raise funds for papal purposes by general assessments. These attempts were innumerable, and varied in their character. Sometimes a legate was despatched armed with indulgences and plenary powers; sometimes bishops were instructed to levy a tithe on all livings in their dioceses for 'crusading' purposes, or a direct appeal was made to the king; sometimes indulgences were bestowed upon cathedrals or collegiate institutions for the repair of their fabrics, on condition that one-fourth or one-third or even two-thirds of the fruits should be sent to

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[1] Machiavelli alleges that through the example of Rome devotion and religion had perished throughout Italy. Burchard says that the public marriage of the daughters of Innocent VIII and Alexander VI set the clergy an example which they diligently followed; all the monasteries, he says, were brothels.—*Cambridge Modern History*, i. 672.

Rome.[1] But except at the Jubilee celebrations of 1450 little success attended such schemes.[2]

This unwillingness to pay tithes and contribute to crusades cannot be ascribed to poverty. The period was one of economical and social progress, in which all classes participated. Although the records of foreign trade are few,[3] material civilization developed. In agriculture, domestic architecture, dress,[4] diet and demeanour, as well as in the administration of justice, the country advanced steadily and rapidly. When Aeneas Sylvius visited Scotland in 1436,[5] he described it as dreary and barbarous, in language such as a modern traveller might use about Lapland or Tibet. Sixty years later, Pedro de Ayala reported to Ferdinand that, although the Scots were still poor and devoted to war, the worth of their land had increased threefold; that their commerce was continually increasing; that their king, who lacked for nothing, maintained justice, observed all the precepts of the Church and lived a life of culture; that his subjects were careful in their attire, attentive to appearances and gracious to foreigners; that in short there was as great a difference between the Scotland of olden time and the Scotland of his day as between bad and good.[6]

Education too was diffused, although not systematically. Several new schools were founded, those at Dundee, Dumfries and Peebles deserving special mention. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Perth grammar-school is said to have been attended by three hundred boys, and by that time 'dame-schools' appeared in Edinburgh. Even in remote Beauly there was a prior who 'turned Lord Lovat into a good scholar and a saint too.' The monks of Arbroath assigned a fixed stipend to the 'teacher of novices and young brethren.' In some cathedrals and collegiate churches provision was made for the education of choir-boys, and it is likely that the children of neighbouring landlords shared in such advantages. That schools were available throughout the country is indicated by the terms of an Act of parliament passed in 1496 which ordained, under a penalty of £20, that 'all barons and free-holders of substance should send their eldest sons at the age of eight or nine to the grammar-schools, till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin,' and thereafter for three years to 'the schools of art and law,' in order that they might be qualified to serve as sheriffs or judges, so that the poor should not require to take their pleas to the king's principal auditors.[1] Even when schools were maintained and controlled by burghs, they were taught by priests or deacons. The fact that the French language was spoken by many Scots must be ascribed, not so much to school education, as to the close political and military relations with France and to trading intercourse with Flanders.

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[1] Of the fruits of an indulgence granted to Glasgow in 1476, only one-third was conceded for cathedral-building, the rest being claimed for papal purposes. —Theiner, pp. 475-6, 481-2, 499, etc. The care taken in securing 'fruit' for Rome is shown in the Bull quoted in Note L.

[2] The Jubilee excited considerable interest in Scotland.—Hill Burton, ii. 424; Hume Brown, i. 231.

[3] Cochran-Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 134; *Ledger of A. Halyburton*, xl., xliv., lxiv.

[4] The clergy were among the classes allowed to wear silk.—Cochran-Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 51.

[5] See page 341.

[6] *Spanish Calendar*, i. No. 210.

The progress of university education can be more easily traced, since each new foundation was constituted by a separate charter. In Scotland the universities were avowedly and essentially Church institutions, which owed their character as well as their foundation to zealous churchmen and shared the fortunes of the Church. St. Andrews, although it disowned the Antipope who granted it a charter,[2] had for many years a hard struggle for existence. James I favoured the University highly, selected its students for vacant prelacies, and is said to have attended the lectures of professors; but in 1426 he proposed to transfer it to Perth, and represented to the Pope that the climate of Perth was milder and that St. Andrews was 'dangerously near England by reason of the nearness of the sea.'[3] His real aim seems

[1] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 238.

[2] See page 315.

[3] It was also alleged that the supply of provisions at Perth was more abundant.—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 440.

to have been to emancipate the University from Church control.[1] A papal commission was appointed to consider the proposal, and its report must have been unfavourable, for in 1432 James confirmed St. Andrews in its privileges. Yet hurtful disputes arose, as to status and authority, between the churchmen and the new officials. The principal subjects of study in addition to canon and civil law were theology, philosophy and metaphysics, and the equipment proved inadequate. Under the influence of Bishop Kennedy a number of church livings in the diocese were set apart as scholarships for secular clerics, but even with this assistance the students were for many years few in number. In 1450, however, Kennedy devoted four other livings to the endowment of a separate college, St. Salvator's, alleging in his application to the Pope for a charter the need of a learned clergy for 'the defence of the catholic faith and the confutation of pestilent heretics and schismatics, who with diabolical craft were sowing tares among the faithful.'[2] The college was a small one, providing for only thirteen persons including a provost and six poor scholars, and it had initial difficulties. In 1458 Kennedy had to apply for a revision of his charter, which would entitle him to exercise discipline, to depose absentee members of the staff, to insist upon early hours and attendance at the daily canonical service, and to make sermons 'ad populum' a feature in college life.[3] Two years later he secured for St. Salvator's a title to bestow plenary indulgences,[4] which must have added greatly to the resources of the college, although in accordance with use and wont one-third of the profits was claimed by Rome. Finally, in 1469, St. Salvator's petitioned for and gained the right to grant degrees, and so came into rivalry with the University.[5] A third foundation was added in 1512 by the juvenile archbishop, Alexander Stewart, under the title of St. Leonard's

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[1] See page 323 n. 2.

[2] Theiner, p. 384.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 406 ff.

[4] The papal Letter conceding this privilege is so suggestive that we append a translation of it.—Note L.

[5] The rivalry called for the intervention of the Provincial Council. See page 344.

College.[1] This college breathed a new air, and to some extent bore the impress of the great humanist who had tutored the Archbishop, being designed to further 'the increase of learning and the edification of the people.' Yet it had as its chief intent 'the steadying of the tossing bark of Peter and the betterment of the Church of God,' which was 'falling away from virtuous exercises.'[2]

Meanwhile universities had been founded in two other cathedral towns. The foundation of Glasgow University in 1450-1 was probably due to that rivalry with St. Andrews which became violent in connexion with the primacy of the Church. It was chartered, on the petition of the king, by Nicholas V, a pope who was guided by a desire that Rome should be a fount of culture rather than by Christian ideals;[3] and his Bull, which confers all the immunities and privileges possessed by the University of Bologna, also bears the stamp of humanism, though he placed the new foundation under the Bishop of Glasgow.[4] For many years Glasgow attracted few students and the range of its studies was limited by medieval scholasticism.[5] The University of Aberdeen, although its charter, dated 1494-5, was stained by the signature of Alexander Borgia, was virtually the creation of Bishop Elphinstone, who, himself an alumnus of the University of Paris, appointed a competent staff of lecturers mainly trained in France. The foundation was expressly designed to equip 'fit men to preach the Word of God in remote regions, inhabited by persons ignorant of letters and almost wild.' It included, from the first, professors of most of the liberal arts then recognized, and the College of St. Mary which Elphinstone added in 1502, entrusting it to the guidance of a Theologus, made provision for the teaching of civil law and medicine.[1] The functions of a university were discharged at Aberdeen more adequately than at Glasgow and, at the outset, as well as at St. Andrews. In all three foundations, however, the desire to further learning was subordinated to the specific purpose of the founders—to strengthen the Church by training competent defenders of catholic doctrine. They produced a few gentle scholars, skilful poets and ecclesiastical antiquarians, but gave no room for such searching and subversive dialectic as moved continental universities in the fifteenth century.

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[1] We willingly follow Herkless and Hannay in crediting St. Leonard's with so blameless a founder, although the idea of the foundation was Prior Hepburn's. The University proper, or Pædagogium, was at this stage 'paene extinctum ac ruinosum.'—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 255.

[2] The charter alleges that 'miracles and pilgrimages, as may be believed without impiety, have in a measure ceased.' Yet too much stress must not be laid upon the wording of such documents. It is noteworthy that St. Leonard's was chartered not by a pope but by David Beaton.—*Votiva Tabella*, p. 44.

[3] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, iii. 57.

[4] Theiner, pp. 382-3. A liberal use was made of the St. Andrews University Statutes and some items were taken from the Cologne Statutes.—*St. Andrews University Publications*, No. vii. The bishop who secured the charter was William Turnbull, a vigorous champion both of his fellow-citizens and of episcopal rights.

[5] The syllabus for 1500 has been preserved.—*Monumenta Univ. Glasg.*, ii. 25.

Not only in the university charters but in many public documents, 'heresy' and 'schism' are mentioned as actual and urgent dangers. It is true that there are few traces of definite rebellion against the Roman system or of a claim for reformation in doctrine; but these few are significant, connecting Scotland with the fortunes of reform movements in England and on the Continent. After Wyclif's doctrine had been condemned by the University of Oxford in 1410 and by the Council of Constance in 1415,[2] the Lollards fared badly in England. In 1417 Sir John Oldcastle, who had propounded the very heresy for which Resby was condemned,[3] was executed at St. Giles', London. About ten years later, the Pope called upon England to assist in the suppression of the Bohemian heresy, and in compliance with this request several men were put on trial between 1428 and 1431, the charge brought against them being usually that they had declared it to be wrong to kill Lollards or Bohemians. In the midst of this campaign Cardinal Beaufort journeyed to Scotland in order to secure the co-operation of James I in the defence of orthodoxy.[4]

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[1] *Fasti Aberdon.* (Spalding Club). Hector Boece, the first principal, has left a glowing account of the early years of the University.—*Lives of Bishops of Aberdeen*, p. 84 ff.

[2] See pages 325 and 303.

[3] See page 326. Oldcastle contended that an unholy pope was not the successor of Peter. At his trial this charge was merged in others.—Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. 78, 97.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 155.

His errand was superfluous, the Scots being staunch in their adherence to Church beliefs.[1] Resby had been burned, the St. Andrews graduates had been pledged to oppose heresy, and Laurence of Lindores had been appointed 'inquisitor,' while James himself was vigorously orthodox. In 1425 all bishops were enjoined by parliament to 'cause enquiry to be made by the inquisition of heresy for any heretics and Lollards, and to see that they were punished as the law of Holy Church requires, calling in if need be the support and help of the secular power.'[2] Laurence is said to have shown unresting activity in giving effect to this legislation.[3] Yet the only sufferer of whom a definite record has been preserved was put on trial immediately after Beaufort's visit, in response to the appeal from the south, and he was not a Scot but a Bohemian, whose martyrdom brought Scotland into contact with the central movements of the Latin Church. In order to understand the connexion, ignored by political historians,[4] we must revert to the events which led up to the Council of Basel.[5]

Those of Wyclif's doctrines which had found most favour in central Europe had been shaped into four propositions, known as the Articles of Prag[6] and accepted in 1421 by Bohemia. The Articles were the rallying-cry of the anti-papal movement, which gave occasion, as was shown in last chapter, to the meeting of the Council. In the year before the Council was opened, the Bohemians, in order to enlist sympathy, sent deputies to all European countries, with a manifesto showing that their doctrines rested exclusively upon Scripture.[1] While the deputies were so employed, the Council met (January 1433) and, after a sharp collision with the Pope, proceeded to discuss the Hussite tenets. It was at this stage that James I agreed to despatch delegates to the Council and expressed hearty approval of its proceedings; but his action implied no intention of tolerating in Scotland the doctrines of the Bohemians. It is a pathetic feature of fifteenth-century religion, that those who protested most against the evils of the Church were the keenest opponents of any deviation from the beliefs and usages to which the deterioration of Church life was in great measure due.[2] On June 22 James wrote his letter of concurrence in the Council, which had challenged the authority of the Pope and was actually engaged in a friendly discussion of the Prag Articles. Yet on July 23 Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was burned to death at St. Andrews—a lurid assurance that Scotland, although desirous of Church reform, had neither part nor lot in heresy.

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[1] John Knox in his *History* reports that in the 'Scrollis of Glasgow' there is mention of an unnamed heretic burned in 1422, but Hay Fleming, after scrutinizing the MS. of Knox, reports that the date has been inserted by a later hand. Possibly Knox refers to the burning of Resby, whom he does not mention elsewhere. D. Buchanan, Knox's seventeenth-century editor, tampered with the text in order to prove this identity and so led several historians to date Resby's martyrdom in 1422.—Knox, *Works*, i. 5, 477; Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland*, p. 15 ff.

[2] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 7-8. See page 337.

[3] Joseph Robertson, with less than his usual carefulness, assumes that each bishop had, as on the Continent, a separate inquisitor. Bower explicitly states that the activity of Laurence was throughout Scotland.

[4] Hill Burton writes that this 'event was utterly isolated from the usual current of history.'—*History*, ii. 404; cf. Hume Brown, i. 219. Lang recognizes that Craw was 'an envoy.'—i. 310.

[5] See page 339.

[6] The Prag Articles dealt specially with (1) communion in both kinds, (2) the suppression of public sins, (3) freedom of preaching, (4) the temporalities of the Church.

About Craw, or Crawar, the only contemporary informant is Bower, the continuator of Fordun's chronicles, and his narrative is at this stage confused by historical generalities and pious reflections.[3] It is easy, however, to disentangle the facts and the significance of the martyrdom. 'Craw,' he says, 'was a Teuton, a doctor of medicine, who had been sent by the heretics of Prag with papers which commended him for his medical skill, although his real purpose was to imbue the Scots with the Bohemian heresies which were at that time too prevalent.' In view of this statement, the current idea of Craw as a stray missionary adventurer may be set aside. He was undoubtedly one of the delegates whom the Bohemians had sent 'to every land' to secure support for their doctrines. Bower proceeds to record that Craw showed himself to be ready and practised in sacred literature and in quoting scripture; that he adhered stubbornly to all the Articles of Prag and of Wyclif; that he was confuted by 'that venerable man Master Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of heretical depravity, who gave no rest to heretics or Lollards anywhere within the kingdom,' and that he was burned at St. Andrews. With regard to Craw personally, Bower tells nothing further, but passes into a vehement denunciation of the Bohemians and Wyclifites, a scrutiny of the Articles of Prag and a lengthy account of the sects into which the Bohemian reformers were divided. His acquaintance with these sects is large and, in the circumstances, very accurate, although he does not say to which sect Craw belonged. Indeed for history the personality of Craw, about which nothing more is known,[1] is less important than the disclosure in his case of the serious alarm with which an ordinary Scot regarded Lollardy.[2] Bower's language, with the terms of the Bull in which Nicholas V chartered St. Salvator's College, and the anathemas pronounced in the General Cursing on 'heretics confessed and known,'[3] makes it clear that, behind the unbroken loyalty with which churchmen adhered to Church doctrine, a spirit of definite rebellion was by his time at work in Scotland.

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[1] The Bohemian manifesto was 'sent in 1430 to every land.'—Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, ii. 192; Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 277.

[2] Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i. 254.

[3] *Scotichronicon*, xvi. 20 ff.; cf. page 326.

For another generation Lollardy showed little open or methodical activity either in England or in Scotland. It revived in England in the last decade of the century with a new character. So-called heretics in considerable numbers were charged with teaching that baptism is unnecessary, marriage a superfluous rite and the sacrament of the altar a fiction; and violent measures were taken for their repression.[1] Although there is no positive proof of a connexion, it cannot have been by accident that in the same decade charges of social anarchy as well as of heresy were brought against a group of Lollards in the south of Scotland. In 1494 thirty persons belonging to the districts of Ayrshire known as Kyle and Cunningham were impeached before James IV and his Council by their diocesan, Blacader, archbishop of Glasgow.[2]

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[1] Bellenden states that Craw preached 'specially against the sacrament of the altar, veneration of saints and the confessional,' and that before his death he acknowledged that he had been sent from Bohemia to preach the doctrines of Hus and Wyclif; but on such a matter Bellenden, writing in 1536, is not a good authority. He is probably correct, however, in saying that the king 'commendit mekyl this punitioun.'—*Chronyklis of Scotland*, ccxlvii. John Knox writes that Craw's executioners silenced him by putting 'a ball of brass in his mouth.'—Knox, *Works*, i. 6. G. M. Trevelyan seems to rely upon Bellenden and Hill Burton.—*England in the Age of Wyclif*, pp. 353-4.

[2] When speaking of the Lollards of Wales, Bower says: 'They abandoned churches and frequented conventicles (*tabernae*) in which the Word has no longer a divine flavour: for them Holy Communion has lost all fragrance.'—*Scotichronicon*, xv. 29.

[3] See pages 370, 377, 393.

Lollardy, although it had been planted by Wyclif's 'poor priests,' was at this stage a lay movement. Of six of the 'Lollards of Kyle' whose names have been preserved, four were landed proprietors—George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet—and two were ladies related to them by marriage—Dame Chalmers of Polkilliss and Lady Marion (?) Chalmers Stair. The others, it may be assumed, were members of their households or persons of inferior rank. The charges brought against them, thirty-four in number, are reproduced in Knox's *History* with comments upon their wording which imply that they were transcribed verbatim.[3] They may be grouped under three heads: (1) *Repudiation of the Pope's claims.*—He is not the divinely appointed successor of Peter and is not entitled to forgive sins or to grant indulgences for fighting against the Saracens. By his indulgences, pardons and Bulls he exalts himself against God. He and his ministers are murderers. His bishops too are deceivers, whose blessings and excommunications are of no weight. Indeed all who are called 'principals of the Church' are thieves and robbers; (2) *Rejection of Church ordinances and usages.*—Images and relics of saints ought not to be preserved and worshipped. Prayers should not be offered to the Virgin. Faith should not be placed in miracles. Christ did not ordain priests to consecrate. After consecration the bread remains bread and the worship of the Sacrament is idolatry. The Mass is of no profit in purgatory. Every faithful man and woman is a priest, and Christians are no more bound to pray in church than elsewhere. The Church has no title to grant divorce after marriage is contracted; (3) *Disregard of civil authorities.*—Christ has taken away from kings 'the power to judge.'[1] The unction of kings is not a New Testament ordinance. Oaths are in no case lawful, nor is it lawful to fight or to defend the faith. Tithes ought not to be paid to 'ecclesiastical persons.'

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[1] The burning seems to have begun in 1498. In 1511 Henry's secretary wrote merrily to Erasmus that wood had become scarce and dear; the 'heretics furnish a holocaust every day.'—Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. 40.

[2] For Blacader's ecclesiastical career see pages 350, 375, 384.

[3] Knox says that he copied the charges from a 'Register of Glasgow.' There is so much reduplication and so little order in the charges that the above abstract will probably be more useful than a verbal reproduction. They may be read in Knox, *Works*, i. 8.

The obvious interest of this accusation brought against the Lollards lies not in any one item but in its sweeping character. Justly or unjustly, they were charged with having broken away completely from the Church. The interest increases when we find that their 'heresies' roused neither the indignation nor the alarm of the king and his council. It is true that at this time there was misunderstanding with Rome, parliament having forbidden the rival archbishops only a year before to plead their claims before the Pope. Yet such a temporary alienation would not, if it stood alone, explain the fact that men holding such opinions were, as Knox alleges, among the king's 'great familiars'; still less would it suffice to explain the course and issue of the trial, which passed into a free exchange of wit between accusers and accused. After some word-play about the seven sacraments, Blacader charged Reid with not believing that God is in heaven, to which Reid retorted that he believed that God was both in heaven and on earth, whereas Blacader and his faction believed not that God was on earth: otherwise they would not play the proud prelate and neglect the charge of Christ to preach the gospel. 'The king, willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to Reid, "Wilt thou burn thy bill?"[1] He answered, "Sir, the bishop and ye will." With these and the like scoffs the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance that the greater part of the accusation was turned to laughter.' Knox's settled habit of deriding the arguments of churchmen and the fact that he wrote seventy years after the trial make it impossible to lay stress upon the details of his narrative. With allowance for this, it remains that the accused did not retract and were not condemned. They seem to have persisted in their heresy when they returned to Kyle and Cunningham, which Knox describes as a 'receptacle of God's servants of old.' There are traditions, which may reasonably be credited,[2] of several Ayrshire households in which, before 1500, the New Testament in the vernacular was read with freedom and the authority of the Church was questioned. In one case another Campbell of Cessnock and his wife, with a priest who expounded the New Testament to their household, were delated to their bishop by treacherous monks. They appealed to the king, who, after hearing a convincing defence presented by the lady, acquitted the accused and threatened the monks with severe punishment if they again caused trouble to 'honourable and innocent persons.'[3]

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[1] D. Laing curiously explains this to mean the power to judge in matters of divine worship. Knox himself describes the charge as a 'venomous' misrepresentation, 'designed to make Jesus Christ suspect to kings and rulers.'—Knox, *Works*, i. 8 n.

This Lollard movement in Scotland has a claim to be recorded, as the first open severance from the Roman Church. In itself, however, it was not an important movement. For an effective appeal to a nation or community, some clear doctrine or some strong sentiment is requisite, and the leading tenet of the Lollards in their best days,[4] that the Bible should be read independently by every Christian, does not become a vivifying or guiding doctrine until the teaching of the Bible is centralized and its appeals to conscience are defined. Although the maxim that 'every faithful man and woman is a priest' gained gracious and evangelical significance when combined with the truth that man is justified by faith, it was in itself a barren maxim, fruitless except in controversy. Since that is the only positive belief with which the Scottish Lollards can be credited, they cannot be regarded as forerunners of the Lutheran Reformers.[1] They defined, however, in religious terms the failure of the Roman system, as it was made manifest in the reigns of James III and James IV. Thus 'Lollard' became the usual designation of those who detached themselves from Church ordinances with definite hostility to the papacy, and an orthodox poet[2] described the danger of the Church:

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[1] To 'burn the bill' was to recant.

[2] The traditions have been presented by Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland*, p. 27 ff. Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill, who joined the Lollards before 1500, 'fled overseas and took a copy' of the New Testament, which he is said to have read in a vault under his house when he returned to Scotland. It has been published by the Scottish Text Society.

[3] Particulars of this case are given by Alesius in his Reply to Cochlaeus (see Note M). The exact date is not clear but it certainly was between 1488 and 1513. —Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 54; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, ii. 401.

[4] The omission of any reference to the Bible in the charges brought against the Lollards of Kyle may be pressed too far: yet it should be noted. Gairdner regards it as of the essence of the earlier Lollardy that it made appeal to Scripture, disregarding every other authority.—*Lollardy and the Reformation*, ii. 339.

'The schip of faith tempestuous wind and rane
Dryvis in the sea of Lollerdry that blawis.'

The tolerance with which the Lollards were now treated is a token that the tongue of criticism had been loosed. Intellectually Scotland was awake or all but awake, as Erasmus, the keenest observer of the times, repeatedly acknowledged. It would be misleading to speak of a Scottish Renaissance, since in Scotland there was no bright past of literature, art or general culture to be revived. At the same time such poetry as that of Henryson, Dunbar and Gavin Douglas gives proof of contact with the advancing thought of Europe, even when its tone is mainly medieval.[3] Side by side with writings which can be ranked as literature, there was a luxuriant growth of rhyme and ballad in the vernacular, independent and rude in its criticism of churchmen and Church usages, and the border-line between such compositions and literature was a shifting one, which was bound to disappear with the introduction of printing. In 1507 Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, the first Scottish printers, received licence from the Privy Council to print 'books of our laws, acts of parliament, chronicles, mass-books and portuus[1] after the use of our realm, with additions and legends of Scottish saints now gathered to be eked thereto and all other books that shall be seen necessary.' The licence and its date mark the situation, for in Germany a Bible had been printed fifty-two years earlier.[2] Scotland was behind the Continent by more than half a century, and printing was licensed in Scotland for an ecclesiastical purpose, the chief promoter being Bishop Elphinstone, who desired to make his cathedral independent of the English breviaries previously in use. Yet a year before the Aberdeen Breviary was issued the printers circulated, in 1508, as a specimen of their craft, a few sheets containing poems by Dunbar, Henryson and others, which showed that the mind and sentiment of Scotland had passed beyond the guidance and control of the Church.

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[1] Trevelyan surmises that it would be hard to prove that the Scottish Lollards made such preparation for the Reformation as was made by the Wyclifites in England.—*Wyclif and his Times*, p. 354.

[2] Walter Kennedy in *The Praise of Aige*.

[3] Robert Henryson wrote not earlier than 1450 and not later than 1500. Gavin Douglas, whose political and ecclesiastical doings have been indicated in this and the preceding chapter, became provost of St. Giles' in 1501, when his literary career began. His translation of the *Aeneid*, which appeared in 1513, was probably his last production.—*Cambridge History of Literature*, p. 239 ff. On Dunbar see below.

Even with the assistance which such materials furnish, it is difficult to estimate the actual religion of the nation at this stage and to trace the character of Christian life. As to the dearth of ordinances there is no doubt. When in 1484 Bishop Browne ascertained that there had been no confession of sins or absolution in parts of his diocese for thirty years, he attempted a reform, not through the parish priests but by commissioning his 'greater and more learned men' assisted by Franciscans and Dominicans, and even with such help he provided no more than an annual sermon and confession in the northern parishes.[3] So the Bishop of Glasgow, when the needs of his diocese increased, invited the Observants to his assistance.[1] Throughout the country there must have been innumerable parishes which had no working parish priests. Parishioners, when thus deprived of ordinances, rarely applied to Rome for leave to use portable altars and to appoint private confessors, a plan to which the pious in England had recourse and which had been usual in Scotland in the fourteenth century.[2] Tokens of personal devoutness are indeed plentiful. In liberal offerings for Church buildings and Church charities the Stewarts set their subjects an example which was widely followed. The collegiate churches founded in this period, although sometimes utilized by family ambition,[3] were often an expression of genuine devotion, and the care shown by their founders to secure immunity from episcopal control arose from a desire for efficiency and for exemption from Church exactions.[4] Connected with such collegiate churches as the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, founded in 1460 under the shelter of the Calton Hill, were hospitals 'for the use of Christ's poor.'[5] Smaller hospitals and alms-houses were planted here and there throughout the country, with no conceivable motive except Christian charity or a desire to discharge obligations imposed by the Church. Aeneas Sylvius tells how he saw, probably in East Lothian, a church-door distribution of coals to the half-naked poor. The burghs, in which lay the true heart of the nation, assessed themselves willingly for religious purposes—both for the support of friar preachers and for church-building. The burgesses of Aberdeen built at their own charges a friary for the Observants, the wives of the burgesses helping to supply vestments and decorations.[1] With a revival of architecture, there was a good deal of enthusiasm about Church buildings, and the central functions of the Church on State occasions were conducted with a pomp which impressed visitors from the south.[2] Pilgrimages were practised, especially to the newly built churches, which papal indulgences invested with spiritual attractiveness. The mass, even when its celebration was infrequent, was regarded by the religious with reverence amounting to awe.[3] The keeping of holy days was so popular that parliament intervened in 1469 with an enactment that only the great festivals of the Church should be observed;[4] but the Act had no secularizing intention, for the same parliament prohibited the holding of fairs on holy days. The Sabbath-observance spirit, which was destined to become important in Scottish religion, gained a place in the national conscience. In 1466 James III changed market-day from Sunday to Monday,[5] and the change was enforced with heavy penalties by the parliament of 1503.[6] The Aberdeen fishermen showed special sensitiveness on this subject, not venturing to fish for salmon on Sundays and festivals until they had laid the matter before the Pope.[7] The religious disposition indicated by such questionings was combined with much credulity. The baleful power of witches, which Church statutes recognized as a reality, was warded off by special offices, while their craft was checked by the penalty of death.[8] When one reads, however, that in 1479 'mony weches and warlois were brint at Edinburghe,' it must be remembered that such proceedings were not distinctively Scottish. In 1484 a Bull against witchcraft was issued by Innocent VIII.

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[1] *I.e.* breviaries.

[2] The printing of the Gutenberg Bible was completed in August 1455. The printing-press reached Paris in 1470 and Westminster in 1474. Andrew Myllar learned the art at Rouen.

[3] *Lives of Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 30. See page 361.

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[1] *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 60.

[2] The hawking of Indulgences, so offensive in the sixteenth century, is rarely mentioned in the fifteenth, although on the Continent and in England it was then obnoxious. In 1426 a papal indulgence is granted with the proviso that it must not be distributed by 'questuarii.'—*C.P.R.*, *Letters*, vii. 522. A similar limitation was set by the Antipope Clement to an indulgence granted to Aberdeen in 1380.—*Statuta*, ii. 24, 266. For the restrictions imposed by the General Statutes see page 246 n 2.

[3] See page 319.

[4] In exempting St. Giles', Paul II stated that 'some other collegiate churches in Scotland were exempted.'—Theiner, p. 463. The provisions of the Hamilton (Cadzow) foundation are interesting. —*Ibid.*, pp. 382, 428, 440-2. The favour in which collegiate churches were held is indicated by a parliamentary enactment of 1471, which forbade the appropriation of churches by bishoprics, abbacies and priories but expressly permitted such appropriation by 'secular colleges.'—*Medieval Church*, pp. 126, 127.

[5] *Charters relating to City of Edinburgh*, p. 84 ff. In 1479 Bishop Spens of Aberdeen founded a hospital for 'twelve poor men' in Leith Wynd—a token of non-official generosity.

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[1] *The Scottish Grey Friars*, pp. 311-14.

[2] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 284.

[3] Bower may be regarded as reflecting the feeling of his time in *Scotichronicon*, xv. 39.

[4] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 97. The fasts and festivals to be observed are specified in a Missal of 1492.—*Statuta*, cxciv.

[5] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 108.

[6] *Ibid.*, ii. 245.

[7] *Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, i. 256. The practice was sanctioned on condition that the first salmon caught was given to some neighbouring church. Canon law sanctioned fishing for herring on holy days.—*Medieval Church*, p. 333.

[8] Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, ci.; Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, i. 503.

The religion of James IV was so highly applauded by contemporary churchmen that it may fairly be supposed to have embodied prevailing ideas. He was zealous and scrupulous in keeping Church fasts and festivals, profuse in his offerings at mass and, generally, a liberal patron of the Church. He observed Sunday rigidly, made many pilgrimages to distant shrines, with special favour for St. Ninian's at Whithorn and St. Duthac's at Tain, and before transacting any business made a point of hearing two masses. On the other hand, his life was flagrantly immoral. When doing devotion at the shrines of saints, he lodged his courtesans in the vicinity; he outstripped James III in trafficking with benefices and promoting disreputable priests, and he had no hesitation in defying and even threatening the Pope. One is apt to think of such religion as sheer hypocrisy, and to recall the fact that a contemporary pope so wicked as Alexander VI enjoined Spain to send out to America 'god-fearing men who were learned in religion' and was himself addicted to worship of the Virgin Mother; but there is no real parallel. The religion of James was of the kind which to some extent recognizes ethical obligation. Ayala, who speaks almost enthusiastically of his temperance in eating and drinking and his 'other virtues,' records that he 'gave up some of his love-making as much from fear of God as from fear of scandal, which is thought very much of in Scotland.'[1] During Holy Week his seclusion from the world was so complete that the English ambassador reported to Henry VIII that the transaction of business with him was impossible.[2] His pilgrimages, his self-tortures and the Easter retreats which he made to the Observant friary at Stirling were due to a genuine desire to soothe the stings of conscience. The age was one in which Christianity, in the language of

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[1] *Spanish Calendar*, i. 210.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i. No. 3838.

Erasmus, had 'degenerated into a more than Judaic ceremonialism' and conscience had no guidance from the Church.[1] The Scottish king, like his subjects, had a religious temperament, anxious for expression and restless under a religious regimen which ignored the plainest moralities.

We gain insight into realities in the poetry of William Dunbar, who reflects his age with the variety and the sincerity of genius.[2] Like Scotland in his time, he belongs only partly to the Renaissance.[3] Born about 1460, he graduated at St. Andrews in 1477 and 1479, and thereafter, as an Observant friar, travelled widely, until in 1501 he gained a salaried post at Court from which he surveyed the life of Church and world with a penetration which was sharpened by his failure to secure further promotion. Many of his writings are coarse, with a savagery in their coarseness which was not infrequent in educated northerners of that age;[4] but his scorn for the simony and immorality of the clergy, both secular and canonical, is honest and scathing.

'Sic pryd of prelattis, so few to preiche and pray,
Sic hant of harlottis with thame, baith nicht and day,
  That sowlde have aye their God before their een;
So nice arraye, so strange to their abbaye,
  Within this land was never hard nor sene.

So mony priestis cled up in secular weid
With blazing breistis casting their clothes on breid;
  It is no neid to tell quham of I mein.
So few to reid the dargey[5] and the beid
  Within this land was never hard nor sene.'

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[1] When James III petitioned that Queen Margaret might be canonized, a commission to inquire into the holiness of her life, her character and her miracles was granted by—Innocent VIII!—Theiner, p. 499.

[2] Henryson reflects another aspect of the 'higher consciousness of the time. His deepest notes are on the triumph of wickedness, the uncertainty of life and the happiness of death.'—Hume Brown, i. 292.

[3] This characteristic of Dunbar's writing is clearly presented by G. Gregory Smith in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and by Æ. J. G. Mackay in his Introduction to *The Poems of Dunbar* (Scottish Text Society).

[4] All students of this period are impressed by the prevalence of an almost savage coarseness in northern Europe—in north Germany and Scandinavia even more than in Scotland.

[5] *I.e.* dirge.

He describes how parish livings changed hands at the gambling table:

'Jok, that wes wont to keep the stirkis,
Can now draw him ane cleke of kirkis
With ane fals cairt into his slief.

. . . . .

Twa curis or three hes uplands Michell
With dispensationis bund in knitchell.[1]

. . . . .

And some that gettis ane parsonage
Thinkis it ane present for a page.'

As to his own Order he writes:

'Off full few freiris that hes been sanctis I reid.'[2]

Dunbar himself was no mere satirist or critic of religion. He took a place frankly and devoutly within the ceremonial of the Church, and withal recognized the central truths of Christianity. His *Ballat of the Passioun of Christ*, which is appended to this chapter, has a transparent depth of devotional feeling, with a noble appreciation of the influence of the Crucified One upon the penitent heart. The *Ballat* does not stand alone. In *The Tabill of Confessioun* he defines with insight the spirit in which a man should approach the Saviour in confession:

'Falling on face full low before Thy feet
I cry Thee mercie and lasar to repent.'

He examines himself by the standard of the Seven Senses, the Seven Deeds of Mercy, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Four Cardinal Virtues, the Kirk's Seven Commands and so forth. It is true that the Kirk's Commands which he specifies are—to pay teinds, to eschew cursing, to keep festival and fast days, to attend mass on Sunday, to frequent the parish church, to make confession to a 'proper curate'[3] and to take the sacrament once a year. None the less, the conception of religion which the poem as a whole expresses is elevated, practical and in a very real sense evangelical. Scotland has never produced finer religious poetry than in this darkest of her centuries since the time of Malcolm Canmore, nor in her brightest days has she had worthier churchmen than Kennedy and Elphinstone. The power and charm of Christian beliefs were no doubt impaired by the inefficiency of the Church as an agency; but they were not destroyed, and indeed they explain the loyal attachment of Christian men and women to a fabric which, though crumbling into ruins, had been esteemed a storehouse of the means of grace. Christianity could not have passed in any shape through the half-century which preceded or the half-century which followed Flodden, if, amidst the disorder of religious agencies and the corruption of Church officials, thousands of hearts had not echoed the prayer to which Dunbar gave voice:

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[1] a small bundle.

[2] Moir Bryce (*Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 68) suggests that 'full few' means 'a good few' and that Dunbar intends to praise the Observants. No doubt in the satire from which the line is taken, as in other poems, Dunbar recognizes the asceticism of his former confrères; but the point of the passage lies in the failure of the friars in real saintliness.—So Hume Brown, *George Buchanan*, p. 90. Mackay, *The Poems of Dunbar*, lvi. cxxix. 'Full few' can mean only 'very few,' as 'full many' always means 'very many.'

[3] *I.e.* his own clergyman.

'Lord! hald Thy hand that strikken has so soir,
  Have of us pitie, efter our punytion:
And gif us grace Thee for to grief no more,
  And gar us mend with penance and contritioun;
  And to Thy vengeance mak non additioun,
As Thou that (art) of michtis may to-morn:[1]
  Fra cair to comfort mak Thou restitutioun,
For, but[2] Thy help, this kynrick[3] is forlorne.'

NOTE L. PAGE 377.

Translation of Bull granting Indulgence privileges to St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews.

'Pius,[4] Bishop, etc. To all the faithful of Christ who shall see the present letter, greeting.

'Our Saviour Jesus Christ, the compassionate and merciful Lord, seems to have conferred upon humanity no stronger nutriment than that through Him mortals should lay hold of the true wisdom of

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[1] to-morrow.
[2] without.
[3] kingdom.
[4] Pius II, better known as Aeneas Sylvius, who was born in 1405, held the papacy from 1458 until his death in 1464. See pages 341, 375.

Christ, should cultivate piety and, finally, when loosed from these mortal bonds and made immortal, should enjoy eternal delights in that glorious assembly of the saints. Among such men the highest place is held by those who devote themselves to philosophy and the pursuits of good arts; but those who also lend assistance to such students are equally dear to God. Moreover, although the Almighty Himself renders to the faithful without fail rewards far higher than their deserts, yet, with a view to confirming and persuading their hearts, we have been wont in our clemency to open the kindly bosom of Ourselves and of the Apostolical See, the Holy Mother.

'Considering therefore that, as we have been informed, our Venerable brother James, bishop of St. Andrews, has, with resources bestowed upon him by God and won as the fruits of his own industry, founded in the City of St. Andrews under the name of St. Salvator a college for thirteen Masters who are scholar-students in sacred theology, and for certain Chaplains and their servitors, but is unable to proceed, as he strongly desires to do, to complete it (the college) either in buildings and a supply of local ornaments or in fortifying the college against attacks from enemies and other sinister occurrences, without suitable support from Us, and from the faithful who perform their devotions there—We, in view of the aforesaid and of the fact that the kingdom (Scotland) is far distant from the City of Rome, and also in order that the faithful may be the more roused and kindled to such devotion and to the rendering of assistance by seeing that they are richly refreshed by a gift of heavenly grace bestowed upon them there, (We) through the compassion of Almighty God and resting upon the authority of the blessed Peter and Paul, His Apostles, grant and bestow plenary absolution and remission, with Indulgence in terms of this letter, for all sins, crimes and excesses, even in cases reserved for the Apostolical See, to all inhabitants of the said kingdom of either sex, true penitents and avowed believers, who on the festival of the Appearance of St. Michael, between the first vespers of the festival and the second inclusive, shall visit the said church annually with oral confession and contrite hearts and shall hold out helping hands to this pious work in proportion to their resources and in accordance with the guidance of the confessor in office of those appointed as hereafter specified.

'Furthermore, in order that the aforesaid faithful who visit and make offerings as above directed may be able to obtain the salvation of their souls with greater facility, We grant a full and free faculty in terms of this letter to suitable confessors, either seculars or regulars of any Order, to be commissioned, as shall seem to be suitable in view of the assemblage of the faithful who gather (*i.e.* as many confessors as are required), by our Venerable brother the Bishop of Dunkeld, or his vicar in spiritual matters, and the Provost of the same College and two seniors of the aforesaid council of Masters holding office: the faculty to entitle them to grant the absolution due for their sins to all and each of such faithful people of either sex, after carefully hearing their confessions, and to impose saving penance, on nine days, viz. the day of the festival, the four preceding days and the four immediately following.

'Moreover, We desire that the moneys which shall come to be paid by the faithful who secure such an Indulgence shall be kept in a single chest, which shall be faithfully and watchfully locked with two keys; that the one of these keys shall be kept by the Provost and the two senior Masters of the college, the other by the Collector of our Apostolic Camera who holds office for the time in the Kingdom of Scotland; that of all the moneys and property that come in from such offerings and alms, a third part shall be kept unbroken and without any deceit for our Apostolic Camera for equipping and maintaining an expedition against the infidels, and that it be received, rendered, and consigned with the utmost fidelity and caution by the said Collector; that the remaining two-thirds shall be employed by the Provost and the two aforesaid seniors in completing the buildings specified, supplying ornaments, fortifying and maintaining the College and its grounds alone, and not in any other way whatsoever.

'Furthermore, let Collector, Provost and seniors who shall venture, which God forbid, to do otherwise or to divide or use the offerings, alms, and other such things for other purposes or otherwise than We enjoin, incur thereby the indignation of Almighty God Himself and the aforesaid Apostles Peter and Paul! . . .

'Dated at St. Peter's, Rome, on the day before the nones of December, in the fourteen hundred and sixtieth year of the Lord and the third year of Our pontificate.

NOTE M. PAGE 392.

THE PASSIOUN OF CHRIST

BY WILLIAM DUNBAR

I

'Amang thir freiris, within ane cloister,
I enterit in ane oratorie,
And kneling doun with ane pater noster
Befoir the michti King of glorye,
Having his passioun in memorie,
Syne to his mother I did inclyne,
Hir halsing[1] with ane gaude-flore;[2]
And sudandlie I slepit syne.

[1] saluting.

[2] festive-song.

II

Me thocht Judas with mony ane Jew
Tuke blissit Jesu, our Salvatour,
And schot him furth, with mony ane schow,
With schamefull wourdis of dishonour;
And lyke ane thief, or ane tratour,
Thay led that hevinlie prince most hie,
With manassing attour messour,[1]
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

III

Falslie condamnit befoir ane juge,
Thay spittit in his visage fayr;
And, as lyonnis with awfull ruge[2]
In yre thay hurlit him heir and thair,
And gaif him mony buffat sair,
That it wes sorrow for to se;
Off all his claythis thay tirvit[3] him bair,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

IV

Thay tyrandis to revenge thair teine,[4]
For scorne thay clad him in-to quhyt;
And hid his blissfull glorious eyne,
To se quham angellis had delyt;
Dispituouslie syne did him smyt,
Saying, "Gif Sone of God thow be,
Quha straik the now, thow tell ws tyt?"[5]—
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

V

In teine,[6] thay tirvit him agane,
And till ane pillar thay him band;
Quhill blude birst out at everie vane,
Thay scurgit him baith fut and hand:
At everie straik ran furth ane strand,
Quhilk mycht haue ransomt warldis thre;
He baid in stour[7] quhill he mycht stand,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

VI

Nixt all in purpyr thay him cled,
And syne with thornis scharp and kene;
His saikles[8] blude agane thay sched,
Persing his heid with pykis grene;
Vnneiss[9] with lyf he mycht sustene
That croune, on thrungin[10] with crueltie,
Quhill flude of blude blyndit his eyne,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

---

[1] menaces beyond measure.
[2] rage.
[3] stripped.
[4] to wreak their anger.
[5] quickly.
[6] rage, anger.
[7] endured in the struggle.
[8] innocent.
[9] scarcely.
[10] thrust.

VII

Ane croce that was bayth large and lang,
To beir thay gaif this blissit Lord;
Syne fullelie,[1] as theif to hang,
Thay harlit[2] him furth with raip and corde;
With blude and sweit was all deflorde
His face, the fude of angellis fre;[3]
His feit with stanis was rewin[4] and scorde,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

VIII

Agane thay tirvit him bak and syd,
Als brim as ony baris woid;[5]
The clayth that claif to his clere hyde,
Thay raif[6] away with ruggis[7] rude,
Quhill fersly followit flesche and blude,
That it was pietie[8] for to se;
Na kynd of torment he ganestude,[9]
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

IX

Onto the croce of breid[10] and lenth,
To gar his lymmis langar wax,
Thay straitit him with all thair strenth,
Quhill to the rude thay gart him rax;[11]
Syne tyit him on with greit irne tax,
And him all nakit on the tre
Thay raisit on loft, be houris sax,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

X

Quhen he was bendit so on breid,
Quhill all his vanys brist[12] and brak,
To gar his cruell pane exceid,
Thay leit him fall doun with ane swak,
Quhill corss and corps and all did crak;
Agane thay rasit him on hie,
Reddie mair turmentis for to mak,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

XI

Betuix tuo theiffies the spreit he gaif,
On-to the Fader most of micht;
The erde did trimmill, the stanis claif,
The sone obscurit of his licht;
The day wox dirk as ony nicht,
Deid bodyis rais in the cite:
Goddis deir Sone all thus was dicht,[13]
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

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[1] foully, in ignominious manner.
[2] dragged.
[3] the free food of angels.
[4] riven.
[5] as fierce as any mad boar.
[6] tore.
[7] wrench.
[8] pity.
[9] avoided.
[10] breadth.
[11] stretched.
[12] burst.
[13] treated.

XII

In weir[1] that he was yit on lyf,
  Thay ran ane rude speir in his syde,
And did his precious body ryff,[2]
  Quhill blude and watter did furth glyde:
  Thus Jesus with his woundis wyde,
As martir sufferit for to de,
  And tholit[3] to be crucifyid,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

XIII

Methocht Compassioun, vode[4] of feiris,
  Than straik at me with mony ane stound,[5]
And for Contritioun, bathit in teiris,
  My visage all in watter drownit,
  And Reuth into my eir ay rounde[6]
"For schame, allace! behald, Man, how
  Beft[7] is with mony bludy wound
Thy blissit Salvatour Jesu!"

XIV

Then rudlie come Remembrance
  Ay rugging[8] me, withouttin rest,
Quhill croce and nalis scharp, scurge and lance,
  Ane bludy crowne befoir me kest;[9]
  Then pane with passioun me opprest
And ever did Petie on me pow,[10]
  Saying, "Behald how Jewis hes drest
Thy blissit Salvatour Jesu!"

XV

With greiting glaid be than come Grace,
  With wourdis sweit saying to me,
"Ordane for Him ane resting-place,
  That is so werie[11] wrocht for the:
  The Lord within thir dayis three
Sall law[12] vndir thy lyntell bow,
  And in thy hous sall herbrit[13] be
Thy blissit Salvatour Jesu."

XVI

Than swyth Contritioun wes on steir,[14]
  And did eftir Confessioun ryn;
And Conscience me accusit heir,
  And kest out mony cankerit syn;
  To ryse Repentence did begin
And out at the yettis[15] did schow;[16]
  Pennance did walk the house within,
Byding our Salvatour Jesu.

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[1] doubt, uncertainty.
[2] pierce.
[3] endured, allowed.
[4] void.
[5] pang.
[6] whispered.
[7] beaten.
[8] pulling.
[9] cast, thrown.
[10] pull.
[11] weary.
[12] low.
[13] lodged.
[14] at work.
[15] gates.
[16] push (*i.e.* the sin).

XVII

Grace become gyd[1] and governour,
  To keip the hous in sicker stait,
Ay reddy till our Salvatour,
  Quhether that He come, air or lait,[2]
  Repentence ay with cheikis wait,[3]
No pane nor pennance did eschew,
  The house within evir to debait,[4]
Only for luif of sweit Jesu.

XVIII

For grit terrour of Chrystis deid,[5]
  The erde did trymmyll quhar I lay;
Quhairthrow I walknit[6] in that steid,[7]
  With spreit halflingis[8] in effray;[9]
  Than wrait[10] I all without delay,
Richt heir as I haue schawin to you,
  Quhat me befell, on Gud Fryday,
Befoir the Croce of sweit Jesu.'

[1] guide.
[2] early or late.
[3] wet.
[4] protest.
[5] death.
[6] awoke.
[7] moment.
[8] half.
[9] terror.
[10] wrote.

CHAPTER XIX

SIGNS OF CHANGE

1513-1528

The Reformation on the Continent—Politics in Scotland—Henry VIII and the Scottish Church—Contentions of churchmen—Anarchy throughout the Church—Attempts to remove abuses—Education—Trading relations with Continent—New type of national feeling—Condemnation of churchmen—Advent of Lutheran teaching—Repressive legislation—Patrick Hamilton—Influence of his martyrdom.

To the religious revolution which, in the years covered by this chapter, dismembered the Church of the west and altered the course of Christianity Scotsmen made no contribution. Yet the change that was effected was destined in the next generation to revolutionize the Scottish Church, and, even at the time, its results were apparent in Scotland. The general course of Church affairs on the Continent must therefore be considered.

The Renaissance on its religious side reached its highest and final stage in the writings of Erasmus. His *Praise of Folly*, with its brilliant and scathing exposure of churchmen of all degrees, was published in 1511; and in 1514 or 1515 he settled at Basel, to begin his equally important labours in the New Testament and the Early Fathers. In 1515 the ignorance and vices of clergy and monks were exhibited more coarsely but as convincingly in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*; and in 1519 Ulrich von Hutten broke with Rome, in the spirit of his motto, 'jacta est alea,' and headed the knights, the boldest class in the Empire, in a rebellion which was all the more forceful because its background and its battle-cry were patriotic. Meanwhile Luther in his Ninety-five Theses (1517) had raised his protest against the traffic of the Church in Indulgences. Three years later, in his 'Primary Works,' he set forth his censures of Rome and his positive beliefs with lucid and glowing eloquence, and on December 10 publicly burned the papal Bull of excommunication. After his refusal to retract at the Diet of Worms, the Reformation rapidly took shape and gained ground in most German-speaking lands. The Electors, in 1522 and 1524, definitely declined to suppress the movement and asserted the grievances of Germany against the papacy. Several of the Free Cities at once abolished the Mass, and in 1526 the First Diet of Speier declared that the Word of God should be preached without disturbance and that separate States were responsible for their religion to God and to the Emperor. Indeed, before that date, Saxony and Prussia had openly taken the side of reform, Luther had published his first Hymn-book and his Order of Worship, and the organization of a reformed Church had advanced in many parts of Germany. In Switzerland the Reformation gained a firm foothold at Zürich under Zwingli's leadership and gave proof of its religious force in several other cantons. In France it found many cultured and devout adherents, whom Francis I treated with alternating severity and indulgence, although the Sorbonne had pronounced against Luther. While the Peasants' War, the Anabaptist risings and the Sacramental Controversies greatly injured the cause of the Reformers, the papacy suffered even more severely. The unwisdom with which Leo X first sneered at Luther and then imperiously pressed for a wholesale recantation, the convulsive endeavours of Adrian VI to lay hold of Luther and to reform the Curia, and the blundering diplomacy of Clement VII, 'most unfortunate of all popes,' led to disaster after disaster. In 1527 Rome was ravaged by Imperial troops and the head of the Church had to seek refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he sat weeping among his thirteen cardinals. In these movements, so momentous in the history of religion, Scotland, as we have said, took no part. In fact the only tokens of her existence which appeared on the Continent were an academic thesis delivered by a Scottish student at Marburg[1] and the share taken by Bishop Forman, as ambassador, in the political imbroglio which involved Rome in disasters.

Beside the international relations of the continental powers the political affairs of Scotland seem puny, being merged in personal intrigues and futile ambitions. For two years after Flodden the infant king, James V, was in the hands of his mother, Queen Margaret, and four councillors; but in 1515 the heir to the crown, the Duke of Albany, was appointed Regent, and the appointment proved to be a turning-point in national history. His support of French interests and his opposition to the endeavours of Henry VIII to dominate Scotland were so unqualified as to stimulate resistance. Within a year of his appointment the English were said to have four hundred Scots in their pay, and their cause was favoured by Albany's rival, Angus, whom Margaret accepted as her husband. For seven years Albany, Angus and Arran, next heir to the crown, were engaged in a dreary contest. Besides Border warfare, which was almost uninterrupted, there was in 1522 a regular English invasion. French troops were imported in defence. Twice the Scottish barons refused to fight under Albany, and ultimately, in May 1524, he withdrew to France, leaving his opponents in power. They proceeded to the 'Erection' of James, *i.e.* they proclaimed him *de facto* king. A boy of twelve, he passed for three years into the hands of Angus and Margaret, but the restraint laid upon him led him to hate the English party. In 1528 he emancipated himself and at once made it plain that antagonism to England would be his guiding principle, although a five years' peace was arranged. At every stage of these proceedings churchmen were prominent and influential. The ranks of the lay barons had been thinned at Flodden, and, as few of the survivors were the equals of the leading prelates either in ability or in resources, the latter became the principal politicians. Benefices for themselves or their kinsmen being claimed as a recompense for their services, struggles for Church office were the occasion or the outcome of almost every political movement, and the Church was distracted by the ambitious yet petty intrigues of candidates for promotion. Even more important was the fact that with a very few exceptions churchmen came to favour an alliance with France and supported the young king in his hostility to England. This last development must be traced in outline, since it determined the destinies of the Church.

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[1] On Patrick Hamilton at Marburg, see below.

Immediately after Flodden, Henry VIII set himself to seal his victory by securing the subjection of the Scottish Church to English metropolitans. He wrote to the Pope that the Scots owed their disaster to their defiance of the papal injunctions, and urged upon him that St. Andrews, which 'had enjoyed metropolitan rank only for a few years,' should be reduced to its ancient dependence upon the archbishopric of York. He also requested that Coldingham should be placed as in olden time under Durham, and that the Pope should fill up no Church vacancies in Scotland till he knew Henry's mind.[1] The Pope received these requests coldly. He declined to sanction any public celebration of the English victory beyond the singing of a mass, and appointed —in technical language 'provided'—one of his own nephews, Cardinal Innocent Cibo,[2] to the vacant primacy, sending a nuncio and a proctor to Scotland to intimate the appointment and to take possession. The Scots, however, would not submit either to England or to Rome, and refused to allow the papal emissaries to enter Scotland. The St. Andrews Chapter elected their prior, Hepburn, to the archbishopric, and another Scottish candidate, Gavin Douglas, a man reputable as a poet but disreputable as a politician, took forcible possession of St. Andrews castle with the support of his aunt, Queen Margaret. Douglas was ejected;

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[1] Theiner, pp. 511, 512; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i. No. 4502. Henry misrepresented the facts. He stated, *e.g.*, that Alexander Stewart had been the second archbishop of St. Andrews. Yet he was not mistaken in saying that the Scots had been 'contemptores Sanctae Sedis.' He excused the English for having slain Scottish bishops at Flodden by the fact that the bishops had worn no episcopal robes when fighting.

[2] This 'provision' illustrates papal methods. Innocent Cibo, then twenty years of age, was the grandson of a pope (Innocent VIII).

yet the election of Hepburn came to nothing, having neither papal nor royal support. Henry, who desired the appointment of Douglas, represented to the Pope that through the audacity of the Scottish bishops the papal envoy had not been allowed to enter Scotland,[1] and offered to take vengeance. At this stage, through influences which, although indistinct, are creditable in their result to all the parties, the pious and patriotic Bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, was put forward by the Chapter with general consent. Elphinstone is said by his biographer to have refused the appointment, being 'contented with his see'; but if he did so it was only for a time. In the summer of 1514 he sent intimation of his election to Rome, with a petition for confirmation which was supported by Margaret. But destiny seemed to prevent the primatial see from having an illustrious occupant. Elphinstone died on October 25, and in November or December the Pope cancelled the 'provision' of his nephew and appointed Andrew Forman to the vacancy, in spite of the remonstrance of Henry VIII. He yielded so far as to withhold from Forman the office of *Legatus a latere*, which he had at first combined with the archbishopric, but to Henry's favourite, Douglas, he conceded no more than appointment to the vacant see of Dunkeld. This veiled refusal to further English interests in Scotland illustrates the policy which was upon the whole maintained till the complete rupture between Rome and England.[2]

The new archbishop, who had held the offices of prior of May, abbot of Dryburgh, abbot of Arbroath, bishop of Moray and archbishop of Bourges in France, had been actively engaged in diplomacy for twenty-five years, and in 1512 had all but attained the dignity of a cardinalate. He had injured his reputation by counselling the action which led to the battle of Flodden, and from the beginning of his primacy he had to face determined opposition. Although his appointment was intimated in Scotland before January 16, 1515, he failed to secure induction until February 1516, being practically imprisoned by his defeated rival Hepburn. Even then Hepburn claimed exemption for his priory from Forman's authority, and keen litigation ensued, lasting till 1520, when a compromise was made. With Gavin Douglas of Dunkeld[1] he had a still keener conflict, which led to appeals to Rome, excommunications and the imprisonment of Douglas by Albany. Aberdeen, with its normal desire for independence, secured exemption for its bishops in 1518. But Forman's most important rival was James Beaton, who in 1508 had been transferred from the see of Galloway to Glasgow.[2] Beaton skilfully supported the French policy of Albany and at a later stage sided with Arran, while Forman for a time favoured Angus. The difference was not one of political principle, for both men contended for the independence of Scotland. Yet as occupants of rival sees they tended to take opposite sides, and their antagonism was sometimes violent. Beaton's eagerness that his see should not be subject to St. Andrews had no religious motive; he was satisfied with securing exemption for his own lifetime, and when, on the death of Forman in April 1521, he was transferred to St. Andrews, he was as zealous in asserting as he had previously been in resisting the authority of the primacy. Beaton also had an open and unscrupulous enemy in the Bishop of Dunkeld, with whom, as the representative of the proud clan of Douglas, collision was inevitable. One of their encounters which took place in 1520 gave occasion to a saying illustrative of the times. It was in the course of a scuffle between the Hamilton and Douglas clans fought in the streets of Edinburgh. Archbishop Beaton, when seeking to emphasize his desire for peace, struck his own breast, saying, 'I swear, upon my conscience.' The mail rang under his episcopal robe and the Dunkeld bishop retorted, 'Your conscience, my lord, is not good; I heard it clatter.'[1] Upon the appointment of Beaton to St. Andrews, Douglas attempted to seize the archbishopric; but the attempt failed, and after considerable delay Beaton was installed in office on June 5, 1523, becoming in rank as he was in ability the first man in the kingdom.[2] His contendings became thenceforward more definitely political, for he was now the acknowledged head of the opposition to England, and his position was full of hazard. After the Erection of the young king he was imprisoned, and although, in March 1525, he was restored to favour and made Chancellor of the kingdom, the Seal was taken from him in July 1526, and during the ascendancy of Angus (1525-8) he had exciting personal adventures. Once his episcopal residence was captured and dismantled; at another time he lurked in the disguise of a shepherd among the Bogrimow hills. He was a brave man and consistent in his 'patriotism,' if opposition to England with partiality for France merits such a name. Meanwhile he fought strenuously for the prerogatives of his see. In 1523-4 he had to appeal to Rome against an attempt of the Bishop of Moray to secure exemption from his authority, and for five years he maintained a less successful struggle with the Archbishop of Glasgow, who finally, owing to the intervention of the king, was declared by the Pope to be independent of the St. Andrews 'primacy.'[3] Amidst unimportant details of the struggle, one personality emerges, in which thirty years later the destinies of the Roman Church in Scotland were concentrated. In 1524 the Regent petitioned Pope Clement VII to bestow, without the customary charges, the abbacy of Arbroath upon 'that honourable man Master David Betonn,' nephew of the Archbishop, to whom the Chair of St. Peter had been so deeply indebted.[4] By a coincidence full of omens it was in 1524 that the party which supported English interests, and with which that 'honourable man' was to wage unrelenting war, became a distinct force in national politics. In the following year David Beaton made his first appearance in parliament.

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[1] A legate was ultimately allowed to enter 'under degrading conditions.'—*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i. No. 5048.

[2] The above sketch coincides with the narrative given at length in *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vol. ii., except in regard to Margaret's part in the contention. Cf. Theiner, pp. 513, 514; Lang, i. 420.

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[1] Dunkeld and Dunblane, which previously had been under the archbishops of Glasgow, were now under St. Andrews.—*Statuta*, cxxviii.; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 55.

[2] Beaton's consecration took place on April 15, 1509.

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[1] A play upon the word 'clatter,' which means, *Scottice*, talk idly or tell tales.

[2] He was 'provided' in October 1522, and the pall was granted to him in December 1522.

[3] *Statuta*, cxxix.; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 213.

[4] Theiner, p. 541.

Archbishops and bishops being occupied with such rivalries, disorder prevailed throughout the Church. In the remote dioceses there was not even a show of discipline. Between 1513 and 1525 there was no Bishop of the Isles; in papal enumerations of the Scottish dioceses that bishopric was simply omitted.[1] Caithness was in complete anarchy, of which the bishop was the chief promoter.[2] When archiepiscopal notices were affixed to the door of Ross cathedral, they were pulled down and torn to pieces by certain 'sons of iniquity,' and the archbishop could only respond by futile excommunications and anathemas. The southern dioceses were in no better plight, being frequently ravaged by Border freebooters. A plaintive petition from the monks of Kelso, dated 1517, represents that they are plundered not only by English but by Scottish marauders, and that they require as abbot a man who can defend them by the sword.[3] Assaults upon the cathedral clergy by their neighbour barons were also frequent, and were not checked by the maledictions and interdicts which they evoked. Indeed official supervision could not be expected when the highest officials were rarely at their posts. The Archbishop of St. Andrews frankly avowed that he was unable to discharge his duties personally 'ob multiplices occupationes ac rerum multitudinem quotidie incumbentium.'[4] Yet archbishops and bishops jealously resented the visitation of monasteries by the officials of the various Orders, and complained that the 'peace of the country' was disturbed by the machinations of stray friars. Church livings were distributed for party purposes as 'mere bribes,' without regard to character. They were handed over recklessly to 'scions of turbulent nobles as sops to keep them quiet,'[5] and their revenues were spent on the Continent without any attempt to make spiritual provision for parishioners.

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[1] A papal dispensation exonerating a bishop of Argyll from homicide locates Argyll 'in Hibernia.' The bishop had three natural sons.—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii. No. 993.

[2] The bishop headed a murderous attack of one clan upon the chief of another, and was driven from his diocese by his own dean, a brother of the murdered man.

[3] Theiner, p. 530.

[4] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii. 236.

[5] Lang, i. 394, 424; Hume Brown, i. 358, 372.

The share taken by Rome in Church administration consisted chiefly in bestowing or withholding official privileges. Even this intervention was regarded with suspicion. The refusal to accept the Pope's 'provision' of his nephew to St. Andrews was followed almost immediately by a proposal, which was checked only by the strenuous exertions of a nuncio, to renounce the supremacy of Rome in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil.[1] Pope Leo X showed some steadiness in the diplomatic attitude indicated above, seeking to support Albany without giving offence to Henry VIII; but not till 1517 was he formally recognized in Scotland as 'the true successor of St. Peter.' Albany complained more than once that the support which he received was inadequate, and complaints were also raised, especially between 1518 and 1520, of papal intrusions into Church benefices.[2] Leo's support of Albany did not go so far as to prevent him from congratulating and blessing James V on his Erection, and the young king's new ministers avowed their loyal adherence to Rome, earnestly requesting the Pope to select for Church promotion men who would support their authority and to pay no heed to the nominations of Albany.[3] The situation between 1524 and 1528 was curious and suggestive. Whenever the king presented petitions to Rome regarding Church promotions, Henry VIII, playing the rôle of patron of Scotland, supported the petitions in a fatherly tone, and meanwhile Albany, now resident at Paris, transmitted to Rome reports on Scottish affairs pervaded by jealousy of the petitioners.[4] It was impossible, however, for the papacy to utilize these opportunities, for by this time the career of Clement VII had passed into the ignominious phase which ended in the siege and sack of Rome. Indeed, at any stage of his imperilled popedom it would have been strange if his interest in Scotland had gone beyond a desire that she should be loyal to Rome, or if the anxious officials of the Curia had been able to supervise the administration and discipline of the Scottish Church. A significant token of the drift of opinion emerged immediately after the accession of Forman to the see of St. Andrews. In dealing with his rival Hepburn, Forman declared explicitly that 'Our lord the Pope has no authority of any sort to pronounce upon civil or criminal affairs except in the Papal States.'[1] During the ten years which followed, Scotsmen who had no thoughts of reform or reformation came to think with less and less respect of the authority and power of Rome.

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[1] Aleander gives 1514 as the date of this proposal.—*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xiv. pt. i. No. 843.

[2] In 1520 Leo X confirmed the privileges granted by Innocent VIII to Scottish kings in regard to appointments to valuable benefices. See page 351.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii. 183.

[3] Theiner, pp. 538, 547.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 546-8, 554, 560, 561.

Indications of the turmoil that prevailed are found in cases where attempts were made to remove abuses. George Browne, for example, the zealous bishop of Dunkeld, had succeeded in bringing his diocese into some order; but on his death in 1515 the succession was at once involved in clan rivalries which passed into actual fighting, and the victor Douglas,[2] having signalized his victory by mortgaging the episcopal revenues, entered upon a discreditable career which undid the work of his predecessor and ended only with his death in exile. Even Aberdeen, which under Elphinstone had become more orderly than any other diocese, was on his decease plunged into confusion. The Huntly clan put forward one candidate for the vacancy, the Regent nominated another, the Pope 'provided' a third; and a weary contest ensued between the 'leaders of the kingdom.'

Among the earnest reformers of the decade may be placed Alexander Myln,[3] one of Elphinstone's canons, who in 1516 became abbot of Cambuskenneth. Myln, himself a scholar and an author, was distressed by the ignorance of the Cambuskenneth monks, and resolved to send some of the novices for training to the abbey of St. Victor near

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[1] *St. Andrews Formulare*, fol. 181.

[2] See page 404.

[3] See page 364.

Paris. Historians of Scottish education have emphasized the fact that he thus ignored Aberdeen University, of which he was official Protector; but for Church history it is more important that his reforming efforts, although in his own judgment they failed,[1] were so far successful as to rear several monks who ten years later became conspicuous for denouncing the offences of churchmen. In the abbey of Kinloss already mentioned similar endeavours were made. Thomas Crystall, who became abbot there in 1505, besides sending senior monks to Aberdeen for education, organized the instruction of the younger monks. He also established a fair library, and his work was developed by his successor, Robert Reid, with the help of a Frenchman, Ferrerius, a fellow-student at the University of Paris.[2]

The most instructive attempts at reform are those made by Archbishop Forman as recorded in his Synodal Constitutions and Ordinances.[3] Forman was an ambitious man, involved in many secular struggles and not morally stainless, but his Statutes, which were probably issued soon after his consecration and re-issued at least thrice, indicate genuine indignation at the corruptions of the Church and a serious desire for their removal. They show that the social condition of the times was still backward and lawless, that sexual immorality prevailed and that outrages upon the persons of the clergy were very frequent. The share of the clergy in the prevalent disorder is emphasized. Clerics are forbidden to wear corslets and to don secular attire, to connive at ante-nuptial fornication, to tamper with wills and to appeal from Church sentences to secular persons. They are enjoined to prepare and present exact lists of excommunicated persons, of persons deceased and of their testaments, in order that the rightful heirs may not be defrauded and the pious purposes of the deceased may be fulfilled. They are forbidden to use indecent words and unseemly gestures in church, and to deal irreverently with the holy eucharist in carrying it from place to place. Absenteeism without the consent of the archbishop is prohibited, while the right of issuing indulgences and pardons and of hearing confessions privately is limited to those who have episcopal sanction, with an exception in favour of Franciscans and Dominicans. An order is issued for the closing of oratories, chapels and monasteries which are not duly consecrated, equipped and kept in decent order, and the practice of fighting in churches and churchyards is declared to be profane. Very explicit are the directions for dealing with rectors, vicars and chaplains who 'openly keep public women and concubines to the discredit and injury of the whole Church.' The Statutes recognize that no little negligence has been shown in dealing with this offence, and that the offenders might properly be deprived and punished without warning; but the Archbishop mercifully ordains that three warnings shall be given with intervals of a year and that thereafter the offenders, if they persist, shall be deposed and their names exhibited in public.

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[1] Myln, when aged sixty-two, stated that he had not yet been able to rebuild or reform the abbey and could not hope to complete the task.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 247.

[2] Edgar, *History of Education in Scotland*, p. 233 ff. Reid represented the contact between France and Scotland, which became more and more influential. In events which do not fall within the scope of this volume he played an important part in national life, as Bishop of Orkney and President of the College of Justice.

[3] *Statuta*, cclxx. ff; Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, p. 260 ff.

More agreeable than such enactments are Forman's provisions for his own University. While he allows vicars and rectors to be absent from their charges as long as they are university students, he enacts that the abbeys and priories in his diocese shall send a fixed number of monks to 'reside continuously at St. Andrews and study the sciences and virtues to the honour of the said University and of the Orders to which they belong, as was wont to be done by a praiseworthy and ancient usage.'[1] The sincerity of Forman's desire to check prevailing evils is made clear by other ordinances which he endeavoured to enforce by threats of excommunication and heavy fines.

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[1] St. Andrews, Arbroath, Dunfermline, Scone, Cupar, Lindores, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood and Newbottle are to send two monks each; Kelso, Dryburgh, Coldingham and Balmerino one each.

The enlightenment of the universities was as yet but partial. Glasgow 'had disappointed the hopes of its founders and had come into a helpless state of inefficiency.'[1] Although from 1524 the see of Glasgow was occupied by a 'good and learned man,' Gavin Dunbar, whose scholarship and hospitality secured praises from George Buchanan,[2] his learning gave no stimulus to the University under his charge. Aberdeen had a respectable equipment of teachers, two of whom, Hector Boece and William Hay, had been trained in France, but their disposition was strictly conservative, and at this time professors and students together numbered not more than fifty.[3] At St. Andrews, which now included three colleges, the students numbered from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, and, although the University had come through a period of depression and strain,[4] it harboured all that was progressive and enlightened in the thought of the Church. Gavin Logie, who was regent of St. Leonard's in 1518 and principal from 1523, besides being senior canon of the priory, was a man who, in Knox's language, 'began to smell somewhat of the verity and to espy the vanity of the received superstition.' In 1523 John Major, the historian, came from Glasgow as a teacher of logic and philosophy. Although Major excited the mirth of Erasmus and Rabelais by his learned trifling, he represented the best of the scholasticism of his time, and in 1525 his reputation attracted to St. Andrews the illustrious Latinist, George Buchanan. In that very year Major removed to Paris, followed almost immediately by Buchanan, and, as Logie received a pension from the king in 1529, there can have been at that date no manifest divergence of his college from the old paths. Yet there was more of scholarship and intellect at St. Andrews than in any other part of Scotland, and it was there naturally that the first clear symptoms of the coming change appeared.[5]

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[1] Hume Brown, *George Buchanan*, p. 13. See page 378.

[2] G. Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, xiv. 34.

[3] Boece, *Bishops of Aberdeen* (N.S.C. ed.), pp. 79, 90, *et passim*. In the next generation the University developed.

[4] See page 377.

[5] Of fourteen Protestant exiles under James v noticed by David Laing, eleven were educated at St. Andrews.—*Votiva Tabella*, p. 19.

Although the Renaissance as an intellectual and artistic movement had affected Scotland but slightly,[1] other quickening forces were at work. While school education had developed, mainly through the growing attention paid to it by the rising burghs, the nation was in constant contact with some parts of the Continent. Scottish students passed in considerable numbers to the French colleges, and visits from foreign churchmen and diplomatists were frequent; but neither of these lines of contact was so influential as the industrial and trading intercourse which from year to year increased in volume. Ships from Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen and other harbours maintained a steady trade with the Low Countries and the Baltic coast. Not only in the Netherlands but in West Prussia and Poland, of which Dantzig was at that time the principal port, there were many Scottish settlers—so many as to excite jealousy and lead to legal restrictions upon the 'pawky Scot.' Indeed the municipal records of several towns in the very heart of Europe disclose relationships with Scotland which can have been maintained only by steady intercourse.[2]

Through such varied influences a new type of national feeling developed—self-assertive and democratic, yet free from the revolutionary trend by which the contemporary revolts of the German peasantry and the Anabaptists were perverted and swamped; patriotic, but not with the earlier patriotism which spent its strength in hatred of England; hostile to the wealthy, yet careful of the sources of wealth. The nationality of modern Scotland was in its birth-throes, and its character was largely determined by the fact that its chief animosity was directed against the proud and voluptuous churchmen who 'owned nearly half of the kingdom,'[3] and the greedy ignorant priests who made religion a burden to the labourer and harassed the trader by privileged rivalry.[1] The only ministers of religion in whom it found a measure of support were the better-educated of the monks and those of the friars who had escaped the plagues by which the Church was scourged, and who preserved the tradition of free speech to which the Mendicant Orders had owed their influence in their hey-day. In 1526 James Melville, an Observant, publicly assailed the profligacy of the Bishop of Moray, summoned him to the court of the primate, nailed an appeal to the Pope on the church door of St. Andrews, fled from Scotland, yet returned next year, followed by a papal order for his arrest. There are other traces of such protests, but they found their clearest expression in *The Dreme* of David Lyndsay, who at this stage was no 'protestant.'[2] In his 'dream' Lyndsay visits hell and finds there proud, perverse prelates, innumerable priors, abbots and false, flattering friars groaning in agony. They are suffering for their covetousness, lust and ambition, whereby they have brought Scotland into a worse plight than France or Italy or England. The whole land is in distress, not only the Borders and the west highlands but the lowlands; and for the distress the 'lords of religion' are to blame. 'Devotion has fled unto the friars.' Lyndsay has no thought of a religious revolution. Although he distrusts the stress which the 'great clerks' lay on purgatory and places his main 'hope in Christis blude,' he lacks the spirit of evangelism and pleads only for the enforcement of 'justice, policy and peace' by the princes of the land. Yet the plainness of his speech and his deliberate assertion that churchmen are the enemies of the commonweal combine with his declaration that 'the true Kirk can no way err at all' to show that the soil was prepared for the seed.

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[1] See page 386.

[2] The general proof presented in Hill Burton's *Scot Abroad* has been confirmed in Th. Fischer's *Scots in Germany* and *Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*. At Ratisbon alone thirty-four Scots were put on the burgess roll between 1513 and 1543.

[3] Lee, *History of the Church of Scotland*, i. 41. Hay Fleming has shown that Lee's estimate may be accepted as a fair one.—*The Reformation in Scotland*, pp. 524, 525.

It is an important fact frequently overlooked that at this stage there was little difference religiously between Scotland and England. The influences of the German Reformation were transmitted in similar ways and received similar treatment. Although Lutheranism was a recognized force at Oxford as early as 1521, England was not much affected until four or five years later. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, which was printed at Worms in 1526,[1] was almost at once smuggled into England, and by 1528 many Lutheran books were in circulation, especially at Oxford. The measures taken for repression were prompt and stern. Tyndale's translation was immediately suppressed by episcopal ordinance. Thomas Bilney was charged with heresy before Wolsey in 1527, although the date of his burning was two years later. In 1528 processes against Lutherans and public burnings of Lutheran literature were numerous, while Thomas More was licensed by the Bishop of London to prepare a reply to the Lutheran arguments. England was still on the side of Roman orthodoxy. The proceedings of Henry VIII against the clergy did not begin until 1529. As yet, he was an avowed Defender of the Faith.[2]

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[1] 'Education was perhaps more widely spread in Scotland than in any other country of Europe . . . yet the bulk of the clergy were dead to the general awakening of men's minds . . . they had fallen below the educated intelligence of the laity as well as below its moral standard.'—Hume Brown, *George Buchanan*, pp. 86, 87.

[2] *The Dreme* was probably published in 1528. Lyndsay's more developed teaching will be explained in a later chapter.

In Scotland, through one of the ironies of history, the first herald of the Reformation was a French gentleman on the staff of that devoted champion of Rome, the Duke of Albany, a certain Monsieur de la Tour, who on his return to France was savagely executed for having 'disseminated several Lutheran errors when in Scotland.'[3] La Tour's work cannot have been later than 1524, the year in which Albany abandoned Scotland, and in 1525 the tokens of sympathy with the new doctrine became clear. The following prohibition was enacted by parliament in July:—

> 'It is ordained that, forasmuch as the damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his

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[1] Portions had been printed at Wittenberg in 1525.

[2] More's *Dialogue* appeared in 1529. For the relations of Lutheranism to Lollardy at this time see Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. 310, 366, 388, 394, 509 f., ii. 227, 231, 286; also Gairdner, *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 89, 92.

[3] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous François I.*, 326, 327; Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 173; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 171.

disciples, and this realm with its lieges has firmly persisted in the holy faith since the same was first received by them, and never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but ever has been clean of all such filth and vice,—Therefore that no manner of strangers who happen to arrive with their ships within any part of this realm bring with them any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants, dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions unless it be to the confusion thereof (and that by clerks in the schools allenarly),[1] under the pain of escheating of their ships and goods and putting of their persons in prison, and that this Act be published and proclaimed throughout this realm at all ports and boroughs of the same, so that they may allege no ignorance thereof.'[2]

It must have been at Aberdeen that the need for such an enactment had arisen, for three weeks after it was passed the king wrote to the sheriff of Aberdeen saying that the bishop had complained to him that there were strangers and others within his diocese 'who had books of that heretic Luther and favoured his errors and false opinions.' He instructed the sheriff to publish the above Act, to search for offenders and to confiscate their goods. At this point the zeal of James was stimulated by the arrival of a Dominican monk, whom Clement VII had despatched to confirm Scotland in loyalty to Rome. Early in 1526 he replied to the Pope somewhat proudly that he has firmly opposed 'that accursed lutherism,' that Scotland is still unstained and uninjured by any heretical pollution, and that he intends to continue to be 'as it were a true and legitimate heir of Abraham.' To this the Pope responded with affectionate congratulations, warning James gently that his royal authority would be weakened by any departure from the catholic faith.[3] Yet 'lutherism' continued to spread. In 1527 the Lords of Council found it needful to extend the Act of 1525 so as to include in its range the king's lieges who were 'assisters to' Lutheran opinions.[4] Copies of Tyndale's New Testament were imported in large numbers from Antwerp by Scottish traders,[1] and the primate set himself to impose severer penalties than the Act prescribed, upon an open champion of the reformed faith.

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[1] 'Allenarly' means 'only.'

[2] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 295.

[3] Theiner, pp. 552, 553, 554.

[4] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 342.

Patrick Hamilton,[2] who was born in 1503 or 1504, was grandson of the first Lord Hamilton and son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel, an honourable if quick-tempered knight who had died in an Edinburgh street affray.[3] His mother was a granddaughter of James II. At the age of thirteen he was appointed lay-abbot of Ferne, the rents of the abbacy, according to the prevailing custom, serving to maintain him as a student at Paris, where he graduated in 1520. While he was at Paris, the University was thrown into ferment by the news that Luther had challenged the sale of Indulgences and had been placed under the ban. The University authorities, after deliberation, ordered Luther's writings to be publicly burned, but the younger Frenchmen, led by Erasmus, were on the side of liberty, and Hamilton listened and learned. After taking his degree, he followed Erasmus to the more liberal University of Louvain, and in 1523 returned to Scotland to become an *incorporatus*, or post-graduate student, at St. Andrews. He arrived at a critical stage of St. Andrews life. While the ancient priory was ruled by Patrick Hepburn, one of the most debauched and daring churchmen of the times, a spirit of questioning had appeared among the students. Hamilton, whose attainments and high birth secured prominence for him at once, is said to have indicated his reforming temper by an attack upon the practice of studying Aristotle through commentators without reference to the text; but for three years he showed no antagonism to the Church, and indeed occupied himself partly in composing and conducting mass-music.[1] When parliament prohibited Lutheran literature, he seems to have become more pronounced in his teaching, and in 1527 James Beaton, who was in that year in political disfavour and felt free for the first time to pay heed to the religious interests of his see, cited him to appear 'as one who disputed and propounded . . . without proper commission . . . his own false doctrines, as well as the foreign opinions of Martin Luther.'[2] Hamilton, however, acting on the advice of his friends, withdrew from Scotland and was condemned in his absence. He made at once for the headquarters of the Reformation. Finding Wittenberg closed by a virulent plague, he turned to the new University of Marburg, in which he was enrolled in May as one of its first students. Francis Lambert of Avignon, who was at the head of the theological faculty, alleges that Hamilton's aim was 'to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth,' and that he showed 'learning of no common kind for his years,' a 'clear and solid judgment in divine truth and much spirituality and earnestness of feeling.' At Lambert's request he published a treatise, consisting of a series of Latin Theses, known when translated into English as 'Patrick's Places,' which set forth lucidly and devoutly the elements of evangelical doctrine. It contained no criticism of papacy, priesthood or any Roman usage, but insisted upon the Lutheran dogma of justification by faith, upon the completeness of the redemption that faith secures and upon the futility of 'works' as a ground for peace with God.[3] Hamilton's German friends would willingly have kept him as a fellow-worker, but his soul had taken fire; the darkness of his native land lay upon his conscience, and at the close of 1527 he returned to Scotland and began to publish his beliefs among his kindred and neighbours at Kincavel.[1] A brother and sister were among his first converts, and a revival movement began in the Linlithgow neighbourhood. When the news reached St. Andrews, James Beaton invited him to a conference, and Hamilton, having passed the stage of hesitation, at once obeyed the summons.[2] At first he was treated courteously and encouraged to express his views. He gave addresses to the students and was visited in his lodgings by several monks, who expressed a desire for further information. The interest shown in his teaching was so far genuine that at least one of the cathedral clergy yielded to his evangelism; but the Dominican prior, Campbell, who professed special sympathy with his sentiments, took notes carefully with a view to an impeachment. How far Hamilton saw the weaving of the net is not quite clear. Nor are Beaton's intentions distinct; he seems to have been reluctant to bring matters to a crisis and to have been willing that Hamilton should escape by flight. A collision with the powerful Hamilton clan had its risks, even for the strongest churchman in Scotland. Patrick, however, had no thought of yielding. 'He had come to St. Andrews,' he said, 'to establish the pious in the true doctrine and, if he turned his back, he would be a stumbling-block in their path.' Disregarding all warnings, he persisted in frank exposition of his beliefs until he received a summons to appear before the Archbishop's council.[3]

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[1] On Sept. 20, 1527, the English ambassador at Antwerp reported to Wolsey that 'divers merchants of Scotland' were shipping New Testaments, 'a part to Edinburgh and most part to St. Andrews.'—Anderson, *Annals of English Bible*, ii. 409.

[2] Lorimer's *Patrick Hamilton* is a valuable repertory of facts. Data recently brought to light will be found in *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 175-88, Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 185 ff., Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 19 ff.

[3] See page 405.

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[1] The only positive evidence that Hamilton was ordained is a statement made by Frith, the English Reformer, which Laing, Mitchell, Bellesheim, Herkless and Hannay think questionable. Certainly Hamilton married. If he had been in orders, the glaring breach of Church law would have been included in the charges brought against him when put on trial. Yet, if not ordained, he could scarcely in those days have acted as precentor of the cathedral. The matter must remain doubtful.

[2] Herkless and Hannay suggest that the addition made in 1527 to the Act of 1525 was expressly designed to bring Hamilton, a layman, within the terms of the Act.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 173.

[3] The treatise, which was the first set of Theses presented at Marburg, is reproduced 'partly' in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (Cattley), iv. 563 ff. Lang (i. 430) suggests that it was displeasing to Romanists because it depreciated 'a good life'! It was the disparagement of the 'works' prescribed by the Church that gave offence to churchmen. Some of its phrases were taken straight from Luther's and Tyndale's writings.—Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 233.

The charges brought against him are important, as showing what at that stage the Reformers regarded as vital and churchmen condemned as heretical.[1] He at once admitted his belief in the following articles: (1) that a man is justified not by works but by faith alone; (2) that good works make not a good man but that a good man doeth good works;[2] (3) that every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace; (4) that faith, hope and charity are so linked together that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all; (5) that the corruption of sin remains in infants after their baptism; (6) that no man so long as he liveth is without sin; (7) that no man by power of his will can do any good. He also affirmed that it is reasonable that all men should read and understand the Word of God, especially the Testament of Christ Jesus.[3] He was further charged with holding (8) that the Confessional is not necessary to salvation; (9) that there is no purgatory; (10) that the patriarchs were in heaven before Jesus died; (11) that the Pope is anti-Christ and that every priest has as much power as the Pope; (12) that it is devilish to teach that remission of sin is purchased by penance; and (13) that God is responsible for sin in this sense, that when He withdraws His grace man cannot but sin. To the last six charges he answered that they were 'disputable points,' with regard to which he was not prepared to reply till he had further light. Obviously he was no reckless assailant of the Church, but a man who was feeling his way as to the consequences of those personal beliefs which to him were central and certain. The Council, however, declared that on all the counts he was heretical, and agreed to meet on the following day to pronounce judgment.

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[1] It was about this time that he married. Even if he was in orders, there was no inconsistency with Lutheran principles. The marriage of Luther, an ordained monk, had taken place two years before—on June 13, 1525.

[2] Angus was at the time in power. Herkless and Hannay think that Beaton could not have acted without his direct permission or intentional inactivity.—*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 188. Knox alleges that the churchmen sent the young king off on a pilgrimage in order that he might not intervene.—*Works*, i. 16.

[3] The *St. Andrews Formulare* quotes a Citation of Hamilton which refers to his having 'presumptuously undertaken the office of preaching without proper commission,' and places him under the ban. The terms of the Citation, reprinted in *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 252, indicate that it belongs to a later stage of the proceedings. Cf. Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 30 n.

At this stage events were hastened. News reached St.

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[1] Several accounts of the charges have been preserved. Foxe (iv. 559) quotes one from 'the registers,' which does not tally with the version he gives of the sentence pronounced (iv. 560). Spottiswoode (*History*, i. 124) gives a different list of thirteen charges, which is accepted by Lorimer. The statement in the text is based upon a comparison of the three accounts, which do not differ in essentials.

[2] This statement was taken verbatim from Luther's tract, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*.

[3] This 'affirmation,' although made a ground of accusation, does not appear as one of the thirteen 'articles' of indictment.

Andrews that Patrick's brother, Sir James Hamilton, and another friend of the family were approaching with an armed following.[1] The Archbishop called out his guard of troops; Hamilton was arrested at his lodgings, and next day was led under guard to the cathedral church, where the Dominican Campbell was put forward as an accuser. After arguments of which varying accounts have been preserved, the Prior turned to the judges, saying, 'My lords, ye hear he denies the Institutions of Holy Kirk and the authority of our Holy Father the Pope; I need nocht to accuse him no more.'[2] Immediately the Archbishop, in name of the most reverend 'fathers in God and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scriptures and masters of the university assisting him for the time,' pronounced Hamilton to be guilty of 'holding and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith and already condemned by General Councils and most famous universities,' and of having 'persisted obstinately in publishing and teaching these detestable opinions,' so that 'by no counsel or persuasion could he be drawn therefrom to the way of the right faith.' He was deprived of Church office[3] and 'delivered over to the secular power to be punished.' The town magistrates, who in this case represented the secular power, executed the sentence on the same day, February 29, 1528, the expectation of an attempt at rescue having become keener. When the martyr reached the stake, which was erected in front of St. Salvator's College, he handed his gown and cloak to the warden, saying, 'These will not profit in the fire but they will profit thee; I can give thee nothing else except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind, for, although bitter to the flesh, it will give me entrance to eternal life which none shall gain who deny Christ before this wicked generation.' At this point Beaton pressed him to recant. 'I will not,' he replied, 'deny my beliefs for fear of your flames. I am content that my body should be burnt here rather than that my soul should burn in hell for denying my true faith. I appeal against the sentence of you bishops and doctors and take me to the mercy of God.' He had some fear lest he should lose courage when in the flames, and prayed audibly that he might not swerve, begging God to accept him as an oblation. The physical strain proved to be terrible through the blundering of his executioners. It lasted for six hours, during which the monks taunted him with his heresies. The wind blew fiercely from the North Sea, so that at first he was only scorched and had to listen while they urged him to recant. 'You are late with your advice,' he said with a smile; 'if I intended to recant, I should not have come here; stand forward and attest the truth of your religion by putting your little fingers into this fire.' To Prior Campbell, who had betrayed him, he spoke with strong severity: 'Evil man, thou didst confess to me in private that the truth I hold is the truth of God; I summon thee to answer before Christ's judgment seat.' With this exception he maintained the gentle spirit which had marked his brief life, addressing kindly words to the spectators and commending his widowed mother to the care of a friend, after the pattern of the Great Sufferer. A bystander[1] who possessed real literary gifts made a vivid record of the scene, one of the most weird and solemn—an armed crowd startled into silence; flurried monks rushing with bundles of straw and smearing the faggots with gunpowder; tempestuous showers quenching the flames again and again, and in the centre a mere youth, quiet and firm while he was being roasted rather than burnt. When his legs were charred and the fire encircled his body, one of the crowd cried aloud that he ought to show if he still held the doctrines for which he had been condemned; whereupon he raised three fingers of his blackened hand and held them aloft, saying, 'How long, Lord, shall darkness lie over

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[1] M'Crie preserves the record of an attempt at rescue actually made by a young Fifeshire laird, Duncan of Airdrie.—*Life of A. Melville*, Note D.

[2] So Pitscottie.

[3] 'All dignities, honours, orders, offices and benefices of the Church' was a legal phrase, and does not necessarily imply that he held any other office than his lay abbacy.

[1] Alesius. See Note N.

this kingdom? How long wilt Thou suffer the tyranny of men? . . . Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

Hamilton had not reached eminence either as a theologian or as a churchman. Although he had powers of clear thinking and a gift of pointed language, he had shown no originality as a religious teacher. His doctrine was, in the phrase of modern dogma, true and undiluted Lutheranism, showing no leaning to either of the schools into which reformed theology was already dividing itself on the Continent. He did not fix or even influence the special bent of the Scottish Reformation. Yet the effect of his martyrdom, as a martyrdom, was far-reaching. Previously no one had suffered in Scotland for holding heretical doctrine except Resby, an unknown English Lollard, and Craw, a semi-political delegate from Bohemia.[1] Now the Church had laid low, with great publicity, a high-born young Scot of rising reputation, against whom no charge was brought except that he propagated beliefs which were inconsistent with the teaching and hurtful to the authority of the Roman Church. It was an event which arrested attention. In the eyes of churchmen, Beaton and his council had acted worthily and honourably. Within two months of the martyrdom the masters and professors of theology in the University of Louvain, under whom Hamilton had studied, transmitted to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the doctors of Scotland a Letter Congratulatory,[2] expressing the respectful opinion that, by the prudent and public execution of a wicked heretic, St. Andrews University had risen to a level equal to that of Louvain, or even higher, and had given an example which would not only 'have place in Scotland' but would be imitated by foreign nations. So a year later John Major, writing in Paris, congratulated Beaton upon having justified his scriptural name, 'Jacobus' or 'supplanter,' by his annihilation of the Lutheran heresy; —the *herba Betonia*[3] had been applied to the poison-bite and the Archbishop had courageously shown himself to be a servant of Christ.[1] Beaton and his king had vindicated the confidence placed in them by the Pope. Yet Major admits that they had incurred 'considerable unpopularity'; and it soon became plain that 'the place which the example had in Scotland' was not that which the Louvain doctors anticipated. Not only at St. Andrews but 'almost within the whole realm there was none found who began not to enquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burned? And when his Articles were rehearsed, question was held if such Articles [2] were necessary to be believed under pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity.' [3] In the next chapter we shall find full confirmation of this estimate by Knox of the effect of the martyrdom. In another passage he narrates how 'a merry gentleman, familiar to James Beaton,' cautioned the Archbishop against burning more heretics: 'My lord . . . if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in deep cellars, for the reek of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon.' [4] Knox's fierce determination to exhibit the antipapal character of the Reformation led him to exaggerate the polemical features of Hamilton's teaching and to minimize its positive significance. Hamilton's distinction was that he set forth in Scotland those gracious and personal bearings of the gospel which in Germany had given wings to Luther's message, with its assurance of emancipation and peace through living faith in the atonement of Christ.

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[1] See pages 326, 381.

[2] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 561-2.

[3] Betony (*stachys betonica* or *Betonica officinalis*) was a British plant of great repute in medieval medicine.

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[1] Major, *Hist. of Greater Britain*, pp. 410, 435, 447.

[2] *I.e.* such dogmas as Hamilton had denied.

[3] Knox, *Works*, i. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 42.

CHAPTER XX

CRISES, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS

1528-1543

Developments of the Reformation—The meaning of 'Protestantism'—The Reformation in England—Attempts to detach Scotland from Rome and France—David Beaton—Intrigues of Henry—Solway Moss—The Church party and the Assured Scots—Beaton imprisoned—Bible-reading sanctioned—Scotland under interdict—Beaton triumphant.

THE fifteen years which followed Hamilton's martyrdom were pregnant with consequences for western Christendom. The Reformation, as a Church movement, was defined and also divided. After the Marburg Colloquy the Lutherans adopted a statement of their beliefs (*Augsburg Confession*, 1530) including an assertion of the sacramental doctrine for which Luther and Melanchthon had contended at Marburg. 'The body and blood of the Lord,' they alleged, 'are truly present, and are communicated to those who eat in the Lord's Supper,' and they condemned (*improbabant*) those who taught otherwise. The Swiss Reformers and many Central and South Germans declined to accept that statement, and in 1536 formulated a counter-statement (*First Helvetic Confession*) in which they declared that in sacraments signs are to be distinguished from realities (*res*), which constitute their 'whole profit' and are partaken of by faith. In the Supper the body and blood of the Lord are not united naturally to nor included locally in the bread and wine, which only serve, as signs instituted by the Lord, to exhibit the true communication of His body and blood.[1] This statement, though prepared with a conciliatory intention, was found after discussion to be at variance with Lutheran ideas of the physical miracle which takes place in the Sacrament; and it thus marked a bifurcation of the Reformation movement which led to a complete severance. Meanwhile various endeavours were made to secure some adjustment between the Reformers and the adherents of Rome; but these proved futile, although they had the support of Reformers so disinterested as Melanchthon and Bucer and of several Roman theologians, like Pflug and Contarini, who appreciated evangelical doctrine. A crisis was reached in 1540 at Ratisbon, which Ranke has termed 'the watershed of modern Christianity.' Even Luther and the papal legate accepted certain terms of concord, but these were rejected by the Pope and by the princes who supported him. Although the papal advisers had by this time recognized that a reform of the Church was imperative, they had set their faces towards a reform which would assert the authority of the papacy and treat the beliefs of the Reformers as heresies. The strongest force in this determination was that of Ignatius Loyola and his adherents. The Society of Jesus was sanctioned in the very year of the Ratisbon conference, and when, in May 1542, a papal Bull proclaimed that a Council of the Church would be held at Trent in the autumn of that year, it was certain that the Council would make no abatement of papal claims and no concession to the Reformers.

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[1] Neither of these statements was final. The Augsburg Confession was modified in 1540, and in 1549 the 'Reformed,' as the Swiss and South Germans came to be called, adopted a new statement (*Consensus Tigurinus*). Yet for the time the above were the standards of the two parties.

The severance between the Lutherans and the Reformed did not affect the fact that the Reformers, who after 1529 came to be known as Protestants,[1] were meanwhile united in their claim. It was a twofold claim—for liberty of conscience, as against the attempt to enforce religious uniformity, and for liberty to read and interpret the Bible. It is true that at a later stage 'protestantism' became the usual designation for opposition to Roman usages, but that was not its first significance. It was essentially a claim for freedom, vindicated by the belief that the Bible supplies the individual Christian with guidance which is sufficient and which he is bound to follow. The 'protesters' were not theologians, nor churchmen, but laymen—the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Elector of Brandenburg, the two Dukes of Lüneburg, the Prince of Anhalt and the representatives of fourteen Free Cities. The movement generally was one of communities, not of individuals. Monarchs, princes and municipal governments considered and decided whether they should continue to enforce by law the authority of the Roman Church or should give their subjects and citizens liberty to read the Bible in the vernacular as their sole religious authority. The two decisions reached at this stage which most affected the Church in Scotland were those of France and England. In France, after some hesitation due mainly to political influences, the cause of the Roman Church was supported by ruthless persecutions. Calvin fled from Paris and, after publishing, as a vindication of the persecuted, the first version of his *Institutes*, found in 1536 a home at Geneva, where he developed ideas of Church life which were destined to find their fullest expression in the Scottish Churches. In the period covered by this chapter, however, neither Calvin's theology nor his Church system was known in Scotland. The change effected in England had an immediate influence upon Scottish affairs. There was no such acceptance of the Reformation by the English nation as by Protestant powers on the Continent. On the contrary, Henry VIII justified the title Defensor Fidei, which had been bestowed upon him in 1521, by persecuting those who avowed the beliefs of the Reformers with as much consistency as his political aims permitted. Tyndale's books were burned at St. Paul's in May 1530. Between 1528 and 1533, in London alone, at least sixty persons were forced to abjure and nine were burned.[1] In 1539 Henry issued Six Articles in which Transubstantiation and Clerical Celibacy were specifically sanctioned, and in 1540 Barnes, Jerome and Garrard suffered death for avowing their belief in justification by faith alone. Yet with steady and vehement energy Henry had been asserting his independence of Rome. As early as 1515 he had declared, after a debate upon the exemptions of the clergy, that kings of England had never had any superior but God. In his assertion of that idea he was supported by the dislike of the nation for papal intrusions, which was a patriotic rather than a religious sentiment. In 1524 he had set himself to secure a separation from Katharine of Aragon, and the refusal of Clement VII to declare the nullity of his marriage led him to assert not only his independence of Rome but his title to rule the English Church. The crisis was reached in 1531 and 1532, when the Pope, thrice at least, publicly forbade Henry to proceed in his design of marrying Anne Boleyn, and the king responded by enactments which secured his authority over the clergy and emancipated England from Rome. The clergy, assembled in Convocation, 'submitted,' acknowledging the king as 'singular protector and only supreme lord and, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, even supreme head of the Church.' By a separate submission they agreed that in future they would enact no new canons without royal sanction nor enforce existing canons without royal assent. The payment of annates to the Pope was forbidden by parliament, with express provisions that, if the Pope should seek to enforce payment by placing England under an interdict, the interdict should be disregarded, and that the consecration of bishops might proceed without papal authorization. In 1533 Henry, having married Anne Boleyn, obtained from Cranmer a declaration that his previous marriage had been invalid. Immediately he was excommunicated. In the following year Convocation declared that 'the Bishop of Rome has no scriptural authority' in England, and parliament pronounced the king to be the only supreme head of the Church on earth, thus confirming the 'submission' of the clergy without the reserve which they had made. The abolition of the papal régime was completed by an Act which provided that no fee or payment should be made to the Pope. The severance was sealed in 1535 by the burning of Reynolds, Fisher and More, and by the re-excommunication of Henry by the new pope, Paul III. A Visitation of the Religious Houses in England led to the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536 and the surrender of the larger in 1537-8. The process of dissolving monasteries continued till 1540. Meanwhile Henry attempted to define the religious position of the Church, of which he had made himself master. Various sets of Articles and Church-manuals were prepared, the most important for Scotland being the *Articles devised by the Kinges Highness Majestie* (1536) and the *King's Book* (1543).[1] In these manifestos, and in the actual policy of Henry and his ministers, there was inevitably much confusion. Rome had been abandoned without any real abandonment of the system of the old Church. It seemed for a few years as if there were to be no room in England either for Romanists or for Reformers; the Smithfield flames of 1540 enveloped both priests and Protestants.

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[1] The Protest from which the word 'Protestant' was taken was presented at the Second Diet of Speier on April 19, 1529, and was directed against the reactionary decisions of that Diet. It claimed the freedom granted in 1526, and asserted that in every principality men should be allowed to obey conscience: 'Every man is responsible to God . . . to act against conscience is to deny Christ . . . those new decrees enforce obedience to the Holy Christian Church; but what is the Holy Christian Church? Men differ, and the ultimate test must be the Word of God: allein Gotteswort, lauter und rein, und nichts das dawider ist.'

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[1] Frith and Hewett were among the sufferers. Lambert's martyrdom was in 1538.

Amidst the confusion, however, there was a clear desire and intention to secure an authorized translation of the Bible. Although Tyndale's work was condemned in 1530, Henry resolved in that very year to have a new translation made, and Convocation, in 1534, requested him to proceed in that direction. Coverdale's Bible, which was finished in 1535 and printed at Zürich, was almost immediately sanctioned if not authorized in England. In 1538 the clergy were required by royal injunction to place an English Bible in their churches for the free use of parishioners, and when the Great Bible appeared in 1540 it bore a commendatory preface by Cranmer. Both Henry and the bishops indeed had grave anxiety lest Bible-reading should promote 'diversities of opinions.' In 1541 John Porter was thrown into Newgate for reading aloud to 'great multitudes' from one of six Bibles which had been placed for public use in St. Paul's, and in 1542 the Great Bible was condemned by Convocation on the ground that its translation of the words rendered in the Vulgate *ecclesia*, *paenitentia*, *pontifex*, *ancilla*, *contritus*, etc., deprived them of their 'special significance.' In 1543 noblemen, gentlemen and merchants who were householders were allowed by Act of parliament to read any translation except Tyndale's 'privately and quietly'; but all under the degree of yeomen—women, artificers, apprentices and others 'of the lower sort'—were denied the privilege, under penalty of imprisonment, unless special royal licence was granted.[1] This was Henry's last attempt to legislate on the subject, and it indicates how far England was from the acceptance of the principles which had given the Reformation force in Germany and Switzerland. Yet his religious hesitancy and the ambiguities of his churchmanship in no way abated his animosity against Rome or his desire to detach Scotland from the papacy.

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[1] The avowed purpose of the *Articles devised* was 'to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us and to avoide contentious opinions.' The *King's Book* was a recast under Henry's guidance of the *Bishops' Book* published in 1537.

The affairs of England, as we have described them, affected Scotland not only in their general course but at almost every stage. In 1528 a five years' peace was arranged between the two countries, and, until it had all but expired, James V was mainly occupied with domestic matters. The borderland was in great disorder. In one year (1529) the unruly Armstrongs of Liddesdale could boast that they had burned fifty-two churches, besides making heavy depredations upon private property. James suppressed them successfully, but with a severity which left a sense of injustice. Similarly in the western highlands the sternness with which he quelled disorder and rebellion alienated several powerful heads of clans.[2] The best act of his reign, the institution in 1532 of the College of Justice or Court of Session,[3] which was intended to remedy the fluctuating administration of the lay judicatories, increased his unpopularity, for he levied a heavy tax upon the clergy for the support of the College. The clergy secured from the Pope an abatement of the tax, but only after a controversy which added to the number of malcontents. Before the expiry of the peace, a considerable number of influential men were known to be disaffected to the king and disposed to favour England. Most of them were barons, yet so conspicuous a churchman as James Beaton came under suspicion, and at the king's earnest request was deprived of legatine authority.[1]

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[1] Stat. 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1.

[2] His greatest diplomatic blunder was the imprisonment of Archibald, earl of Argyll, in 1531.

[3] For some time the new tribunal was extremely unpopular.—Cosmo Innes, *Scottish Legal Antiquities*, p. 238; Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, lix.

In 1533 raiding expeditions, from which in times of nominal peace the borderland was rarely free, almost passed into open war; but Henry, who had now broken with Rome, was intensely eager to secure the support of Scotland, which at this time bulked largely in international politics. Scottish support was valuable for England, for France, for Rome, even for the Emperor, who in 1534 tendered to James the Order of the Golden Fleece.[2] After negotiations another peace was made between England and Scotland, and Henry sought for a closer alliance. Twice, in 1535 and 1536, he despatched his chaplain, Dr. William Barlow, instructing him to exhibit to James the unrighteousness of the bishops of Rome and the scriptural authority of kings over priests, and to suggest how easily royal exchequers could be replenished by the appropriation of Church property.[3] But the embassies failed. James was surrounded, Barlow reported, by 'the Pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the devil.'[4] He said that he intended to 'hold by God and Holy Kirk, as his ancestors had done these thirteen hundred years past.' When Barlow tendered him a copy of one of Henry's new manuals of Church doctrine, he refused the offer coldly. He also declined to hand over some adherents of Rome who had found refuge in Scotland from Henry's persecutions. Yet Henry was persistent. He pressed for a personal meeting with James, and for a few months it seemed possible that a meeting might be arranged. The possibility excited alarm at Rome, where the English king's personal force was regarded as demonic, and the Pope despatched to Scotland a letter of entreaty followed by a nuncio.[1] But before the nuncio arrived the danger was past. The marriage of James, first to the French princess Madeline and, after her brief wedlock, to Marie of Lorraine, sealed the adherence of James to the Franco-papal cause. Between his first and second marriages he received papal benediction for his steadfastness to the Church in troublous times, with a mystic cap and sword and an offer of the title of Defender of the Christian Faith, of which English monarchs were no longer worthy.[2] Far more important was the fact that the guidance of Scottish affairs now passed into the hands of David Beaton, the most resolute champion of Rome and the indomitable foe of England.

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[1] Theiner, p. 594.

[2] In the same year Henry sent James the Order of the Garter. He received the Order of St. Michael from the King of France in 1536.

[3] An amusing abstract of the 'Instruction' is given by Lang (i. 436).

[4] In February 1536 Barlow reported from Berwick that 'in these parts there was plenty of priests . . . flocking companies of friars, etc., but among them not one that sincerely preacheth Christ.'—*State Papers*, *Henry VIII*, v. pt. iv. p. 19.

David Beaton, nephew of James the archbishop, is one of the most impressive and important figures in Scottish history. Born in 1494, he studied at St. Andrews, Glasgow and Orleans and thereafter settled at Paris, where he was employed in diplomacy, and in 1524 was appointed Scottish resident at the French court. When in that year Albany petitioned the Pope to appoint him to the wealthy abbacy of Arbroath[3] with remission of the customary fees, he based the petition upon Beaton's diplomatic services and his large financial outlays.[4] It was as a politician that in the following twelve years Beaton rose to power. While holding Scottish benefices, he was resident in France and acquired a masterly skill in diplomacy as well as the favour of the French king, who persuaded him to become a naturalized Frenchman and appointed him to the bishopric of Mirepoix.

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[1] *Statuta*, cxxxvii.

[2] According to Robertson, James used the title once only, viz. on the title-page of *The Trompet of Honour*, which was published before July 1541.—*Ibid.*, cxxxviii.

[3] See page 406.

[4] Theiner, p. 541.

But his career was to lie in Scotland. In 1528-9 he became Keeper of the Privy Seal and thenceforward was frequently employed in embassies, the most important being those which resulted in the king's two French marriages. He was largely responsible for the refusal of James to yield to the overtures of Henry, and the services thus rendered to the papacy were recognized by the highest promotion possible. The French king had previously endeavoured to secure a cardinalate for him, and James now urged on the Pope that such an appointment would help to check 'the rising storms of heresy.'[1] In December 1538 he was made Cardinal and also coadjutor to his aged uncle in the archbishopric of St. Andrews.[2] When James Beaton died on February 14, 1539, David became sole archbishop and the unrivalled champion of the papal and anti-English cause. His letters to the Pope had far more weight and consequence than those of the king, who indeed was anxious lest papal interests on the Continent should deprive him of so sagacious a counsellor.[3] Henry, on his part, recognized in Beaton his most dangerous antagonist.

The opposition to the policy of which Beaton was now the champion had been making steady progress. In one of the letters in which James urged the benefits which a cardinalate would bring, he warned the Pope that Scotland was in danger of following England; 'the tares,' he wrote, 'are now in the nearest furrows, not only in the neighbouring field.'[4] Henry, who was alarmed by rumours of an alliance of the continental powers, was sedulously establishing relations with the disaffected Scots, and had secured in Sir Ralph Sadleyr a skilful agent, who in numerous interviews with James urged the arguments which had been used by Barlow, with much greater effect. He specially dwelt upon the ignorance and inefficiency of the Scottish clergy, and upon the ease with which the king could enrich himself by appropriating their ill-spent revenues, while he actually suggested that friendship with Henry might be a pathway for James to the throne of England. In 1541, when Beaton chanced to be on the Continent, a meeting at York between the two monarchs was negotiated, but James broke the tryst, and in the same year the death of Margaret severed a serviceable link between the kingdoms. The clergy, whose cause was manifestly at stake, represented to James that friendly dealings with England implied disloyalty to Rome, and met Sadleyr's appeal to the king's avarice by submitting a list of three hundred and sixty nobles and barons whose estates might be confiscated on account of their heresy.[1] The king of France too was eager to prevent an alliance between England and Scotland and, as had happened thirty years before, consideration for the French cause brought a national disaster. War broke out in 1542, and on Fala Moor the cleavage of the nation was disclosed. The barons declined to follow their king into England, on the ground that the French interests were not the interests of Scotland, and James was compelled to disband his army. Although he succeeded in raising another force, it also was permeated by a spirit of dissension, and the humiliating overthrow of the Scots on Solway Moss (November 24, 1542) exhibited the fact that for a time the patriotic sense of unity, which alone enables small nations to resist their aggressive neighbours, had disappeared. Three weeks later James died, leaving as his heiress a six days old babe, who was destined for a career of picturesque and tragic vicissitudes which would not close till the Church fabric upheld by her father had disappeared from Scotland.

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[1] Theiner, pp. 608-11.

[2] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 242. James urged that Beaton should be made *Legatus a latere.*—Theiner, p. 612. The Pope was anxious that the cardinalate should be signalized by the publication in Scotland of Henry's excommunication, but the French king intervened.—Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, p. 206.

[3] James pleaded with the Pope earnestly in 1541 that Beaton might be allowed to stay in Scotland.—Theiner, p. 613.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 611.

Politically Scotland was at this time almost equally divided. Among the barons and gentry the English party was the more numerous, but its leaders were, as Sadleyr reported to Henry, young men and incompetent, far less resolute and skilful than their opponents. Although 'well-minded to God's Word,' they had no clear religious convictions, and asked Sadleyr in a tentative spirit to let them see the 'books'[1] of his royal master, in order that they might decide whether they could assent to his doctrine. They had some favour in the Lothians, where they held several castles, but elsewhere they were in disrepute, partly because they sided with the 'old enemy' England, partly because it was known that many of them were subsidized by Henry. 'Ballads and songs are made of us,' said the Earl of Glencairn, 'how the English angels have corrupted us: we have almost lost the hearts of the common people of the realm.' On the other side were ranged the 'higher' clergy in a solid mass. In the Council chamber they formed a majority, and they were in deadly earnest. Although they too were in receipt of subsidies, the French supplying funds without stint,[2] they were fighting with all their hearts for their possessions and their power. They had a fascinating watch-word, 'the freedom of the country and the Church'—freedom of the country from English rule and freedom of the Church from the bondage which Henry had laid upon the southern clergy. And in Beaton they had a leader as unscrupulous as any of the English hirelings, but a past-master in statecraft. A cardinal who was despatched from Rome to give guidance to the Church party reported to the Pope that he found he was not needed: Beaton was qualified to 'govern a greater nation than this without any one's aid or counsel.'

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[1] *Sadleyr Papers*, i. 94; Hume Brown, i. 389. See below, page 462.

After the king's death, Beaton intimated that James had appointed him, with the Earls of Argyll, Moray and Huntly, to the guardianship of the realm, producing, it was said, a testament to that effect;[3] but the claim was set aside and the next heir to the throne, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was installed as Regent with Beaton as Chancellor. There followed a brief, keen struggle, rich in exciting episodes,[1] of which we can notice only those which had consequences for the Church. Henry, resolved now to become master of Scotland, saw and seized his opportunity. After parading in London thirty-one nobles and gentlemen who had been captured at Solway Moss, he loaded them with gifts and sent them to Scotland under pledge to secure the betrothal of the infant Mary to his son Edward, to hand over certain fortresses to the English and to send the Cardinal to England. Ten of them specifically undertook, although secretly, to secure for Henry the crown of Scotland in the event of the death of 'The Child.'[2] For a few weeks these men, who came to be known as the 'assured Scots,' were faithful to their pledge. On January 27 Beaton was arrested, and on March 12 the Scottish parliament appointed ambassadors to arrange with Henry for the proposed betrothal. A religious colour was given to the measure by an enactment to the following effect :—

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[1] Sadleyr's letters to Henry VIII for February-April 1543. See page 429.

[2] 'It is promised to them,' wrote Sadleyr, 'by La Brochey that they shall have money of the French king to wage ten thousand Scottishmen.'

[3] Knox and George Buchanan state that Beaton forged a will, although Knox's statement has some ambiguity. It is certain (1) that this was alleged within five months of the king's death; (2) that no definite charge of forgery was preferred; (3) that a paper supporting Beaton's claims was prepared by a notary; (4) that Beaton put forward a claim which was disallowed. Lang (*Hist.* i. 460)

> 'The Lords of the Articles . . . think that the Holy Writ may be used by all the lieges in the realm, in the vulgar tongue, of a good, true and just translation, because there is no law shown or produced to the contrary, and that none of our Sovereign Lady's lieges incur any crime for having or reading of the same, in the form as said is, nor shall be accused thereof in time coming; and that no persons dispute, argue or hold opinions of the same, under the said pains contained in Acts of Parliament.'[3]

This Act was passed within a fortnight of the similar enactment of the English parliament.[4] Although there was no limitation, such as the English Act contained, to

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'doubts if it is proved' that he was guilty of forgery. Hume Brown (*Hist.* ii. 4) thinks that 'there can be little doubt of his guilt.' See Knox, *Works*, i. 91; Buchanan, *Hist.*, xiv. 35; *Hamilton Papers*, i. 356; *Sadleyr Papers*, i. 138; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 134 ff.

[1] Buchanan's narrative, in Book xv. of his *History*, is more impressive than Knox's. The letters of Sadleyr to Henry are graphic at this point, in their disclosure of the extraordinary skill of Beaton's manœuvring.

[2] *Hamilton Papers*, i. 361 ff.; Lang, i. 462.

[3] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 415.

[4] See page 430.

'noblemen, gentlemen and merchant house-holders,' the prohibition of 'disputing, arguing and holding opinions' about the Bible corresponded to the English provision that the Bible must be read 'privately and quietly.' The intention of the enactment was to bring the two countries into line, and its significance was political rather than religious. Knox, while recognizing its helpfulness to the cause of reformation, vividly describes how men who 'had never read ten sentences of the Blessed Word' did bear it about in order to 'make court thereby.'[1] Almost immediately the diplomatic 'protestantism' which prompted the enactment was overborne by patriotic apprehension that subjection to England was intended—a fear which was zealously fostered by France and by Rome. French money poured into the country. The Pope, hearing of Beaton's arrest, despatched a nuncio to the scene and laid Scotland under interdict. Although the Regent enjoined the clergy to ignore the interdict, his injunction was almost everywhere disregarded[2] and the offices of religion were suspended. In April Beaton had regained his liberty. The panic caused by the interdict probably contributed to his escape; he made dexterous use of the anti-English feelings which prevailed, and bribed one at least of his jailors.[3] However his escape was effected, he was again at the head of the Church party, which had been in a helpless condition during his imprisonment.[4] A convention of prelates and clergy, assembled at his summons, agreed to raise ten thousand pounds by a levy upon their benefices, and declared that, if need be, they would spend their own plate and the plate of their churches and take the field in person; so unsparing was their 'determination to avert the impending ruin of the whole papal Church.'[5] An extract from a letter in which Beaton on May 2 apologized to Pope Paul III for not having responded to a summons to the Council of Trent will show the spirit avowed by the churchmen of the time:—

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[1] Knox, *Works*, i. 100.

[2] A few priests ignored the interdict.—*Records of Dysart*, pp. 5, 6.

[3] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 97, 102.

[4] The Archbishop of Glasgow protested on behalf of the episcopate against the enactment as to Bible-reading, but no heed was paid to his protest.

[5] *Sadleyr Papers*, i. 204; G. Buchanan, *History*, xv. 6.

> 'Your Holiness cannot but know into how great danger I myself have fallen, in standing up against impious men in defence of the Church of God and her faith and freedom, and in striving to resist and beat back the whole pollution and plague of Anglican impiety. While pursuing this aim and unsuspicious of mischief, I was outwitted by craft and fraud and detained in close captivity for three months and a half at the instigation of the king of the English, who bribed certain parties. However, although I am not clearly delivered from the envy and hatred of my foes, I have been restored, against the will of that same king and the remonstrance of my adversaries, to my former liberty, and that not without the earnest desire of all good men, their congratulations and their warm attestation of my innocence. . . . Let your Holiness be fully persuaded that I shall spend all toil, care, strength and diligence in maintaining with dignity and honour the place in the Church of God which your Holiness had assigned me, and that, in defence of its integrity and advantage, I shall never on any occasion omit anything which our strength can accomplish or our watchfulness foresee.'[1]

The Regent Arran, with whom Beaton had now to deal, was a singularly weak man,[2] entirely incompetent to resist so resolute a statesman. Eight days from the date of the above letter, he wrote to the Pope avowing his zeal for the Holy Apostolic see and asking for certain papal favours in Church administration, although at the very time he was assuring Sadleyr that he hated Beaton with his whole heart and had determined 'to reform the abuses of the Church and advance God's Word and doctrine.'[3] By this time he was influenced by his natural brother John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, an unscrupulous advocate of French interests. His wavering passed into panic when a French fleet appeared off the Firth of Forth. Beaton played adroitly with his fears as with his ambitions. One week Arran publicly proclaimed the Cardinal a traitor; another week he said that the Cardinal might with good management be turned into an English Protestant. In July[1] Beaton had 'The Child' in his keeping. In August Sadleyr wrote: 'A wonderful change took place; the Governour (Arran) revolted unto the Cardinal and his complices, and very friendly embracings were betwixt them.' In September Beaton led Arran into the Franciscan chapel at Stirling, heard him recant and gave him absolution. To the infinite chagrin of Henry,[2] Beaton 'had won the game of force and fraud.'[3] In December he received the Great Seal and in January he was honoured by the Pope with the title of *Legatus a latere.*[4] Thenceforward, as Lord High Chancellor, Primate and Cardinal, he swayed the affairs of the kingdom, being supreme both in Church and in State.[5]

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[1] Theiner, p. 614.

[2] The Imperial ambassador styled Arran 'half an idiot' and Beaton 'all-powerful.'

[3] Theiner, p. 614.

The failure to detach Scotland from Rome by political influences had been complete. The nation as a whole resented the intrusions and aggressions of Henry, and Beaton had some claim to be regarded as a national champion. The English ambassador found it impossible to secure consideration at the Scottish court for his master's 'books of religion.' In the autumn of 1543 his house was surrounded by an angry mob and he had to be removed to Tantallon castle for safety. 'I had liefer,' he wrote, 'live among the Turks. . . . The town of Edinburgh is wholly at the Cardinal's devotion. . . . The whole body of the people is on the other side.' If political forces had determined the history of the Church at this stage, its allegiance to Rome would have been unbroken.

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[1] The change was indicated by severe Privy Council enactments against heresy on June 2—only eleven weeks after the reading of the Bible had been sanctioned.—Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, ii. 283.

[2] The terms of the royal marriage, as arranged in July, displeased Henry. In December the Estates repudiated the alliance with England.

[3] Lang, i. 471.

[4] Arran had petitioned the Pope to confer the honour.—Theiner, p. 615.

[5] Keith, *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, i. 97 n.

CHAPTER XXI

CRISES, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS (*continued*)

1528-1543

Inefficiency of clergy and monks recognized—Sack of Lindores abbey and Dundee friaries—Buchanan's *Franciscanus*—Illiteracy and exactions of priests—*Satire of the Three Estates* played at Linlithgow—Churchmen admonished by king and parliament—Diffusion of evangelical doctrine—Fugitives from persecution—The king's hesitation—Renewed persecutions and martyrdoms—The steady trend of the religious movement—Its appeals to the people.

THE cause which seemed to triumph was insecure for two reasons, which must be considered separately—the inefficiency of the Church and the diffusion of the reformed doctrine.

Supervision of the moral and spiritual interests of their dioceses could scarcely be expected from bishops who had such leaders as the Beatons. David Beaton, although too energetic to dally in sensuality, was flagrantly immoral, being the father of at least eight illegitimate children,[1] and lavishly extravagant in his style of living. The only trace of interest in the diocese of St. Andrews shown by either of the Beatons was the foundation of St. Mary's College in 1538 by the uncle, and the increase of its endowment by the nephew.[2] Apart from their absorbing political engagements, their administration of the primacy was hindered by the keen antagonism between St. Andrews and Glasgow. In 1531 Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow secured from the

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[1] Three were born before 1531; three others were legitimated in 1539. The facts, which have been collated by Hay Fleming (*The Reformation in Scotland*, p. 45 ff.), make it likely that his offspring numbered fifteen, although perhaps there were only eight. His libidinous habits were notorious.

[2] In the deed of foundation James Beaton set forth that the endowment of the Church militant with learning conduces greatly to Christian well-being and to the orthodox faith.—*Votiva Tabella*, p. 45.

Pope exemption from all duty of obedience to St. Andrews; but the exemption did not bring peace, and on one occasion a contest for precedence broke out in the streets of Dumfries.[1] In 1535, when sanction was required for a levy upon Church estates for the new College of Justice,[2] parliament ordered the Archbishop of St. Andrews to convene a Council, threatening that, if he refused, the authority of the Pope would be invoked. The Archbishop complied, but his rival disclaimed his authority and issued a separate summons to the Glasgow suffragans. When the Council met, in 1536, it proved impossible to transact any business beyond the formal confirmation of the proposed tax.[3] Except a convention held in 1543 to raise funds for military purposes, this was the only meeting held, and the voluminous records of the period refer to no case in which an individual bishop exercised discipline in his diocese.

While episcopal government was thus practically in abeyance, both bishops and king complained repeatedly and bitterly of the way in which benefices were allocated at Rome. Clement VII reserved to himself all vacancies which occurred in eight specified months of the year, and the amount of litigation at Rome which this measure entailed became intolerable. In 1532 a partial renewal of the 'ancient Scottish privilege' of dispensing with appeals to Rome was secured;[4] but the evil was not abated. In 1535 James V represented that the allocation of benefices by the Pope was hurtful to his kingdom, and in 1540 he renewed his remonstrance.[5] It is scarcely strange that his representations were futile, since he himself again and again secured by petition the appointment of his illegitimate children to high Church offices.[6]

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[1] *Statuta*, cxxix.; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 215, 238. [2] See page 430.

[3] *Statuta*, cxxxiv. and ccxlvii.-ccli. Beaton refused to pay his own share of the tax.

[4] Theiner, p. 601; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 222.

[5] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, viii. No. 1152.

[6] In 1532 James requested the Pope to 'dispense' three of his illegitimate sons for the priesthood, and for archbishoprics when they should reach the canonical age. In 1538 he begged the abbacy of Holyrood for an illegitimate boy aged four, giving favourable reports of his character.—Theiner, pp. 599, 611; Bellesheim, ii. 142.

The only other connexion in which there is any trace of episcopal energy is in the resistance offered to the visitation of certain Cistercian abbeys.[1] The visitation had no resemblance to the visitation of English monasteries instituted by Henry VIII,[2] being an inquiry appointed by the General Chapter of the Cistercians at Citeaux on their own initiative. Accordingly they have left no public records such as those which in England have furnished ammunition to the assailants and the defenders of monasticism. An attempt made in 1531 to visit the abbeys in the St. Andrews diocese was baffled by James Beaton; but a visitation begun in 1533, although it too was checked, went far enough to disclose some significant facts. Special scandal had arisen as to Melrose, Newbottle and Balmerino, and the proceedings with regard to the last named, which have been chronicled with some detail,[3] show that the monks had completely abandoned the laws of their Order. They had separate walled orchards, the produce of which supplied lucrative trade; many of them had abandoned the monastic garb and employed several servants; indeed the idea of a 'common life' had disappeared and the offenders alleged that their offences had the sanction of a century's usage.[4] That the scandals of Balmerino went far beyond breaches of the vow of poverty is shown by an epigram published in several poems of the period:—

'Speir at the Monks of Bamirrinoch
Gif lecherie be sin.'

Monasticism was at this stage much less prominent in Scotland than in England. The once prosperous abbeys of Lothian had suffered terribly in the Border wars, and the northern foundations were in many cases all but deserted.[5] The monastic life that survived was disorderly and coarse, Kinloss and Cambuskenneth being the only monasteries which have left evidence of an attempt at reform. With tell-tale frequency abbots and priors obtained leave to appoint administrators (*yconomoi*) as their substitutes. John Major, a sincere churchman and medievalist, writes of the religious houses founded by David I:—

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[1] For an attempt to 'visit' the Premonstratensians, see *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 260.

[2] See page 429.

[3] Campbell, *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 227 ff.

[4] All three monasteries appealed to 'reverendi Domini consultatores,' *i.e.* probably the Bishop's Court. The outcome of the visitation is unknown.

[5] See pages 363, 364.

> 'Behold what may happen to religion from the possession of great wealth! By open flattery the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam* . . . they covet these ample revenues, not for the good help they might render to their brethren but solely for the high position that these places offer, that they may have the direction of them, and out of them may fill their own pockets. Like bats, by chink or cranny, when the daylight dies they will enter the holy places to suck the oil from out the lamps, and under a wicked Head all the members lead an evil life according to the proverb, "When the head is sick, the other members are in pain." An abbot once grown wealthy has to find sustenance for a disorderly court of followers, and not seldom, bidding farewell to the cloister, makes for the Court. . . . If his body do indeed chance to be in the cloister, yet in the spirit of his mind and the manner of his life he is as one without.'[1]

During those years monk after monk forsook his cell and either made public at his peril the evils by which his conscience had been forced or sought refuge in England, Switzerland or Germany. The general estimate of the system was indicated in the case of Lindores abbey in 1543, when for a few months the power of the Church was in suspense. That abbey had had a typical history of more than three centuries. It had been enriched at the expense of neighbouring parishes and thereafter impoverished through neglect. Its privileges had dislocated the trade of the merchants of Fife, and it had provoked the citizens of Dundee by drawing teinds intended by pious founders for the clergy of the principal town-church, while refusing to pay the prescribed stipend to the vicar. Priors of Lindores had been conspicuous as champions of the Church. One of them, Laurence, had gained fame in uprooting Lollard heresies; another, Henry, had taken part in the trial of Patrick Hamilton. The lawsuits and processes in which the abbey had involved Dundee as a community and Dundonians as individuals had been innumerable, and such benefits as it had once conferred upon them had completely disappeared. So it was that, when for a space the protection of the authorities was withdrawn, the city populace, having heard of the measure dealt out to monasteries in other lands, and stimulated perhaps by a preacher from the south,[1] streamed out to Lindores, sacked the abbey and drove away the monks.[2] There is no mystery about the meaning of their action. It was, in modern phrase, a 'punitive expedition.'

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[1] Major, *Hist. of Greater Britain*, pp. 136, 137. Prior John Hepburn, founder of St. Leonard's College, kept a mistress within the precincts of his priory. When called by his bishop to put her away, he answered by arming his retainers.—*Alesii Responsio*, quoted by Lang, *Hist.*, i. 425.

The number of Scottish nunneries had always been small, there being few districts in which women could even attempt to maintain settlements. Neither in the balladry nor in the literature of the sixteenth century are nuns frequently mentioned. Sir David Lyndsay indeed writes of them at some length. In a poem written in 1530 he describes how Chastity, seeking in vain for a home among the 'religious' and unable to live among the nuns generally, finds at last a lodging 'upon the borrowmure, besouth Edinburgh, among the systeris of the Schenis,'[3] where the Virtues have found one convent not yet a thrall—

> 'To dame Sensuall, nor with ryches abusit;
> So quietlye those ladyis bene inclusit.'

This selection of a single nunnery as worthy of its vocation shows that there must have been truth in the report presented by a cardinal to Pope Pius IV, that in Scotland 'every kind of religious women' were leading nefarious lives.[4]

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[1] On the possible connexion of Wishart with this and other riots, see Chapter XXII.

[2] *Chart. of Lindores*, p. 312; *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 15.

[3] The 'borrowmure' (Boroughmuir) is a district to the south of Edinburgh. 'Schenis' was derived from Siena, the home of St. Catharine. The site of the convent is indicated by the name 'Sciennes' (still pronounced 'sheens'), which designates a group of streets in modern Edinburgh.

[4] Quoted by Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 8. Of ten nuns resident at Elcho in 1540, only one, the prioress, could write.—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, iv. 34.

With regard to the life led by the friars, there is more uncertainty and also more interest. Of the subordinate agents of the Church they were in this period the most prominent, showing more activity and independence than the ordinary monks. In 1529 and 1530 the Observant section of the Franciscans, who had found favour in Scotland in the fifteenth century, were energetic throughout Europe, and it is probably of them that Lyndsay writes in *The Dreme* that Devotion, when exiled from all other clerical circles, has 'fled into the Freris.'[1] They enjoyed the special patronage of the king and, when strife arose between them and the laxer Conventuals, he commended their interests to the Pope, speaking of their 'most earnest service of God' and the sanctity and purity of their life.[2] Yet this was a passing revival, which left the great mass of the friars in a discreditable plight. Only five years later, James called upon the most illustrious of his subjects, George Buchanan, to expose the insincerity of the Franciscans and, finding the first exposure (*Palinodia*) inadequate, insisted upon Buchanan's producing a severer satire. Buchanan responded in the *Franciscanus*,[3] an elaborate and skilful poem in which he describes the Franciscans as men ruined in fortune, reckless of law, utterly ignorant, diseased in mind and body, who have made it their business to impose upon the world. Indulging their own vices with impunity, they befool the Scots by dexterous and masterful use of the Confessional. Their most lucrative craft is among wealthy women, and among rustics they are invincible through their brazen faces, their clever lies and their lurid descriptions of hell. They have no notion of teaching Scriptural truth and they hate specially the teaching of St. Paul. But their golden age is gone; the days when they can impose upon the very stupidest Scot are numbered.

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[1] An Observant, James Melvin, who brought an impeachment against the Bishop of Moray, escaped punishment by becoming a Conventual. Subsequently (in 1535) he became a Lutheran.—*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, iv. No. 3019 ff.; Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 193.

[2] Theiner, p. 597; Bellesheim (ii. 139) represents James as having commended the Franciscans generally, not the Observant section; and his translator argues that the king cannot have ordered Buchanan to attack the Franciscans.

[3] The *Franciscanus*, as we have it, is a revision, completed in 1564, probably without 'essential change in historic substance.'—G. Neilson, *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, p. 301 ff.

Buchanan was at this stage a humanist like Erasmus, but he had none of the geniality and playfulness which led popes and cardinals to laugh over the *Praise of Folly*. Although he had written at the king's command, the realism and veracity of his satire stung and he had to flee from Scotland, followed into his exile by the hatred of the Franciscans and of Beaton.[1] It would be as unreasonable to suggest that all friars were like 'Franciscanus' as to maintain that all well-born Romans in Juvenal's day were accurately portrayed in the *Satires*. If some of the friars became leaders in persecution, others led in denunciation of the sloth and vice of prelates, and several of them, as we shall see, gave a glad welcome to the new light that was dawning. At the same time, the all but unanimous evidence of contemporaries shows that, as a class, they had lost the respect of the nation. The first popular outbreak against the institutions of the Church was directed against the Perth Dominicans, and the same mob which sacked Lindores abbey laid waste the Dominican and Franciscan friaries at Dundee. It is true that, when an attack was made upon the Edinburgh friars, the citizens drove back the assailants. Yet that was in the year when 'the town of Edinburgh was wholly at the cardinal's devotion'; and the protection of them by the citizens shows only that they were viewed as supporters of the Church. Again and again outrages perpetrated upon the image of the saint who had been wedded to poverty attested the fact that those who bore his name had come to be hated by the poor.

The ordinary priest or vicar, generally in this period styled the 'persone' (parson), was not a leading or influential figure. He did not regard it as his function to preach, the ministration of sacraments being his recognized office. Very few priests had received either general or professional education.

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[1] Buchanan's statement to this effect (*Vita Buchanani*, p. 4, and Dedicatio to *Franciscanus*) is not invalidated by the evidence given by him before the Inquisition in 1549.—Henriques, *G. Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition*. The matter will be considered in vol. II.

The illiteracy of those of them who were in attendance at court excited the derision of English visitors, and the level reached by country priests cannot have been higher. Their hardness to the poor and their obduracy in exacting death-dues were the favourite themes of ale-house humour. In 1536 the king urged upon the bishops, with threats, that they must forbid the exaction of the topmost cloth as a death-due[1] and reduce the charge of teinds to some regularity,[2] but his urgency was wasted. The abuse of Church law in annulling marriages and so creating illegitimacy, which has already been exhibited with sufficient clearness, was combined with reckless sexual immorality on the part of those priests who had not permanent concubines. In 1540 Archibald Hay, an orthodox adherent of Rome, wrote to his kinsman Beaton :—

> 'I declare I often wonder what the bishops were thinking about when they admitted such men to the handling of the Lord's Body, who scarcely know the alphabet. They come to that heavenly Table without having slept off yesterday's debauch. . . . These abuses, which have held sway for many years, must be rectified. . . . It is intolerable that entrance to the Church should lie open to all without selection, and that some entrants should bring with them utter ignorance, others a false pretence of knowledge, some a mind corrupted by the greatest sins and trained in the most scandalous excesses, certain of them a studied intention to do harm, so that there is no greater danger to be feared from the most noxious animals than from this offscouring of most abandoned men.'[3]

On Ascension Day of the same year the condition of the Church was set forth before the royal court at Linlithgow in an allegorical drama by David Lyndsay, *A Satire of*

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[1] By a thirteenth-century Church Statute 'the largest and best cloth' (*maior pannus et melior*) possessed by those who had no cattle was prescribed as a 'mortuary' or 'corpse-present' to be paid to the priest. The 'upmost cloth'—sometimes the uppermost cloth on the bed, sometimes the outer garment of the deceased—had come to be one of the most obnoxious of Church-dues. In England a similar due was abolished in 1529.—*Statuta*, ii. 44, 273; Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 178 n.; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, p. 187.

[2] *State Papers*, *Henry VIII*, IV. iv. 667; *Statuta*, cxxxvii. As to teinds, the king's claim was moderate, viz., that they should be as regular in amount as payments due to lay landlords.

[3] 'Ad Davidem Betoun Card.,' *Panegyricus*. See Patrick, *Statutes*, lxxix.; Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 41 ff.

the Three Estates.[1] Lyndsay,[2] who was then fifty years of age, had been employed at court since 1511, first as tutor, then as usher and, since 1529, as chief herald or 'Lyon King of Arms.' He had at this stage little acquaintance with the doctrine of the continental Reformers, whom he designates vaguely as 'Lutherians.' His attitude was that of a patriot eager for the welfare of his sovereign and the prosperity of Scotland; and in the *Satire* he exhibits the abuses which in his judgment were working the social and economic ruin of the country. Although he recognizes the faults and offences of laymen, he does so in an easy, kindly way and passes on to concentrate attention upon the sins of churchmen and the abominations of Church life. Bringing on the stage churchmen of every rank, from prince-bishops to the hawkers of Indulgences, he shows that each and all of them are working deadly mischief under the influence of Avarice and Sensuality, and that King Humanity, in the interests of John Commonwealth, is bound to undertake the work of reformation. Not one of them, he argues, can answer the charges brought by Chastity or by Verity, who founds her cause upon the Bible:—

'Quhat buik is that, harlot, into thy hand?
  Out walloway! this is the New Testament
In Englisch toung and printit in England;
  Heresie, heresie! fire, fire! incontinent!'

Except appeals to fire, the only resource of churchmen is an appeal to Rome, the fountainhead of greed and vice:—

'Quhilk is the lemand lamp of lecherie,
  Quhair Cardinals and Bishops generally
To love ladies they think ane pleasant sport,
  And out of Rome has banished Chastitie,
  Quha with our Prelates can get na resort.'

Towards the close Lyndsay gathers together with unpoetical precision the demands of the Common Weal. While the 'Kirk of Christ and His religion' should be defended and fortified, law must be strictly enforced and justice carefully dispensed in the highlands, all temporal matters being taken out of the hands of Bishops' Courts. Only educated men qualified to preach must be ordained. Pluralities and non-residence must be prohibited, with the purchase of benefices at Rome. Since 'most priests lack the gift of chastity,' clerical celibacy must be brought to an end, and temporal barons must be forbidden to 'mix their noble, ancient blood with the bastard bairns of the spiritual state.'

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[1] The *Satire* was also played at Cupar, Fife, in 1552, and at Edinburgh in 1554.

[2] See page 414.

These claims of course had been made by many voices in other parts of Europe for centuries; but in Scotland they had been silenced. Now they were made publicly, before royalty and parliament, in words which would be remembered. As literature the *Satire* does not stand in the front rank; it neither pierces very deep nor soars very high; but it is written with dramatic power and clearness both of perception and of expression, and it exhibits the condition of the writer's time with a force and vividness which all but justify the language used of Lyndsay by Sir Walter Scott:—

'The flash of that satiric rage,
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age
And broke the keys of Rome.'[1]

The effect upon the king was instantaneous. Himself a convinced churchman, he was surrounded by bishops and abbots; his chief minister was Beaton, by this time archbishop of St. Andrews and cardinal; yet his eyes were not closed to the condition of the Church. A few months before, when Sadleyr had charged the Scottish clergy with all manner of abominations, he had replied, 'The good may be suffered and the evil must be reformed; I shall help to see it reformed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life.' Now he turned round upon the bishops with words of menace. According to a despatch transmitted to Cromwell by Eure, he 'exhorted them to reform their fashions and manners of living, saying that, unless they did so, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England.'[1] Accounts of this speech given by John Knox and Sir James Melville, although differing in phraseology, agree in saying that he threatened the bishops with the same treatment as had been given to the English clergy by Henry VIII.[2] He was not satisfied with personal threats. At a meeting of the Estates held two months later (March 14, 1541) an Act was passed for 'reforming of kirkis and kirkmen,' which, after calling the Church to cast forth its abuses, proceeds:—

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[1] *Marmion*, iv. 7. Joseph Robertson quotes with approval the judgment of Pinkerton that 'Lyndsay was more the reformer of Scotland than Knox'; he curiously speaks of Lyndsay as 'kindly and tolerant.'—*Statuta*, cxxxix.

> 'Because the negligence of divine service, the great unhonesty in the kirk, through not making of reparation to the honour of God Almighty and to the blessed sacrament of the altar, the Virgin Mary and all holy saints, and also the unhonesty and misrule of kirkmen both in wit, knowledge and manners is the matter and cause that the kirk and kirkmen are lightlied and contemned: for remedy thereof the king's grace exhorts and prays openly all archbishops, ordinaries and other prelates and every kirkman in his own degree to reform themselves, their obedienciaries and kirkmen under them, in habit and manners to God and man.'[3]

To these admonitions not the slightest heed was paid. By this time a measure of reformation had been attempted, if not accomplished, in every other country in western Europe, not only in those in which the Reformers had prevailed but in those which adhered to Rome. The Scottish bishops and clergy stood out alone, a solitary specimen of adherence to the debased methods and practices of the pre-Reformation Church. In the language of two political historians who cannot be charged with Protestant bias,

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[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII*, v. iv. 169 f.

[2] Knox's version is: 'Get you to your charges and reform your own lives and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else, I vow to God, I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as the king of England does by hanging and beheading, but by sharp whingers if ever I hear such motion of you again.'—*Works*, i, 82, 83. Sir J. Melville's report must be printed in the vernacular: 'Wherefore gaif my predecessoris sa many landis and rentes to the Kirk? Was it to mentean halkis, doggis and . . . to a nomber of ydle prestes? The king of England burnis, the king of Denmark beheadis you. But I sall stik you with this same quhinger (dagger).'—*Melville Memoirs*, pp. 63, 64.

[3] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 370. Reference will be made later to other parts of this Act.

Church abuses had 'risen to a perhaps unequalled height'; the 'clergy had become the leaders in profligacy.'[1]

Although those unreformed churchmen gained a measure of hopefulness from the victory of Beaton over the 'English party,' the tide by which they were destined to be swept away was rising steadily. The affairs of religion and the Church, by which social life was depressed and the growth of intelligence was hindered, forced themselves upon and occupied the common mind.[2] Within two or three years of Patrick Hamilton's death it became manifest both to king and to clergy that the evangelical truths for which he suffered had taken root in Scotland. By the clergy every possible effort was put forth to check the growth, but James V was half-hearted in supporting them. Although he could always be persuaded to act severely when it seemed proper to give proof of his loyalty to Rome, he was too well aware of the offences of churchmen to be zealous in defending their cause. Consequently the arrest and punishment of adherents of the Reformation were intermittent, and a large proportion of those who were arrested were enabled to make their escape. A rapid review of the trials and martyrdoms will show the character of the movement as well as the treatment which it received. If the reader shrinks from a record of unfamiliar names, he is respectfully reminded that there is no other way of learning how the Reformation gained hold of the Scottish people.

The most striking example of Patrick Hamilton's influence was the case of Alexander Alane, a canon-regular of St. Andrews, who had been one of his accusers. During the trial he had been attracted by Hamilton's doctrine, and the impression of the martyrdom reached his conscience and completed his severance from the Church. Arrested and condemned for strictures which he passed upon the dissolute lives of priests, he escaped from prison and entered upon a highly interesting career. He first sailed to Malmö, where he was cordially welcomed by the Scottish merchants, and afterwards found a home at Wittenberg. There he heard that the Scottish bishops had issued an edict forbidding the use of the New Testament in the vernacular,[1] and published a tractate in response. The tractate was so effective that churchmen ascribed it to Melanchthon, while Luther's versatile antagonist, Cochlaeus, prepared an Apologia for the bishops, which Erasmus[2] transmitted to the Scottish monarch with a letter of commendation. Subsequently Alane was despatched by Melanchthon with letters to Henry VIII and, after taking a prominent part in English controversies, returned to Germany, where he gained distinction as Rector of the University of Leipzig and as a prominent adherent of Melanchthon in the bitter controversies in which the Lutheran Church was involved.[3]

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[1] Hill Burton, iii. 286; Lang, *History of Scotland*, i. 424; *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 8.

[2] In the sententious productions of Hector Boece and his translator, John Bellenden, there was nothing to arrest or guide the rising intelligence of the nation.

Similar were the fortunes of another fugitive, John M'Alpine, a Dominican prior of Perth, who, after holding for some years a canonry at Salisbury cathedral, passed over to Wittenberg, was presented there by Luther for a doctorate and afterwards despatched to Denmark, where he gained a high place at court and assisted with the first translation of the Bible into Danish.[4] Such men were not lost to the Scottish cause. Some of them were absorbed in the affairs of the lands of their exile, but even they, by their scholarship and ability, gave the Reformation movement in Scotland a standing in the eyes of continental Protestants. Others maintained an active interest in Scottish religion, and by writings,[5] printed abroad and shipped to Leith or Aberdeen, cheered the 'Lutherans' who in growing numbers came to light in Scotland, to the alarm of the guardians of the Church.

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[1] Robertson ascribes this edict to 'the Archbishop of St. Andrews'; but the title of Alane's tractate is 'Epistola contra decretum quoddam *Episcoporum* in Scotia.'

[2] By this time Erasmus had completely broken with the Reformers. It is striking that this should have been the only share of the great humanist in Scottish Church affairs.

[3] A fuller account of Alane, who is known to continental scholars as 'Alesius' ('wanderer,' from ἀλάομαι), is given in Note N.

[4] M'Alpine was known on the Continent as 'Machabaeus.' Fyffe, another of the exiles, known as 'Fidelis,' should at least be named.

[5] Such were John Gau's (Gow's) *Richt Vay to the kingdom of Heuine*, printed at Malmö in 1533, and Johnson's *Comfortable Exhortation*, printed at Paris in 1536.

In 1532 James, stimulated by a nuncio from Rome, declared in parliament that he would 'never suffer anything to be done contrary to the authority of Rome and Holy Kirk.' In accordance with this declaration a campaign of persecution was initiated, which lasted for fully two years. At Holyrood there was 'ane greit objuratioun of the favouraris of Mertene Lutar,'[1] and in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews seventy Lutherans seem to have been apprehended about the same date.[2] The St. Andrews college and priory were undoubtedly the fountainhead. Although Major was at the head of the University, Logie, principal of St. Leonard's, who was also senior canon of the priory, gave so much freedom to students and monks that, under him, 'to drink of St. Leonard's Well' was held equivalent to the imbibing of Lutheran sympathies.[3] There was not, indeed, any approach to toleration. In 1532 Henry Forrest, a Benedictine, who affirmed that Patrick Hamilton had been a martyr and that 'his articles were true,' was charged with being the possessor of an English New Testament, imprisoned by James Beaton and ultimately burnt to death in front of the abbey church. In 1534 James and Catharine Hamilton, brother and sister of the martyr, were put on trial at Holyrood before the king. Catharine secured acquittal by evasive replies, and James saved his life by flight. At the trial the king showed signs of goodwill towards the accused, which were also evident in a more important case. His own private confessor, Alexander Seaton, a Dominican, who succeeded Campbell[4] as prior of St. Andrews, was impeached by the Franciscans for having publicly censured the Scottish bishops both at St. Andrews and at Dundee for neglect of their duties, specially of their preaching office. Seaton escaped to Berwick, where he composed, in the shape of a letter to the king, a vigorous indictment of the ignorance of the Scottish monks and the rapacity of the prelates.[1] This avowal of hostility to the Church by the successor of Hamilton's principal accuser illustrates the close connexion of St. Andrews with the reforming movement. Yet the movement was by no means confined to that locality. In 1534 two men were burnt publicly at Greenside, Edinburgh. One of them, David Straitoun, son of the Laird of Lauriston, had first given offence by refusing to pay church teinds, and had gone on to deny the authority of the Church. The other, Norman Gourlay, a priest, was charged before a king and bishops who were rich in illegitimate children with having married a wife, and with having expressed doubts as to the existence of purgatory and the jurisdiction of the Pope.[2] Among those known to have been put on trial, only one was a layman—a Leith sea-captain who had doubtless imported his Lutheranism from Dantzig—the others being priests, friars and schoolmasters. Two fugitives from the persecution should be named, as men who became prominent in Scotland subsequently. John Willock, a friar at Ayr, came under suspicion and escaped to England;[3] and George Wishart, a schoolmaster at Montrose, when summoned to appear before Bishop Hepburn of Brechin, betook himself to Bristol, where he found protection with Bishop Latimer. The case of Wishart, who will reappear in the tragedy to be described in the next chapter, is instructive even at this stage. The son of a Forfarshire laird, he had been educated at King's College, Aberdeen, had gained some knowledge of Greek, then a rare attainment in Scotland, and had settled as a teacher at Montrose under the patronage of the provost, John Erskine, laird of Dun, who had introduced teachers of foreign and ancient languages into the grammar-school. The charge brought against Wishart was that he taught children to read the New Testament in Greek, and it was at the instance of David Beaton, then abbot at Arbroath, that Hepburn, a loose and easy bishop, instituted proceedings. Wishart's flight probably took place in 1535, and in that year parliament, besides ratifying the anti-Lutheran Act of 1525,[1] enacted that none of 'the king's lieges have, use, keep or conceal any books of the said heretics (Lutherans) or containing their doctrines or opinions, but that they deliver the same to their Ordinaries within forty days.'[2] It was also declared that heretics who despised Church censures should forfeit all their goods, and that informers would be rewarded from the forfeited estates.[3]

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[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 15.

[2] *Venet. Papers*, iv. 778.

[3] The movements of Logie (see page 412) have been debated. Lang follows Lorimer in saying that he went into exile in 1534; Mitchell says 'in 1538-9,' while Herkless and Hannay doubt if he ever broke with the Roman Church. Yet his leanings towards Lutheranism are proved.—Knox, *Works*, i. 36; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 40; Lorimer, *P. Hamilton*, pp. 168-9; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 203, 204.

[4] See pages 419, 422.

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[1] Knox has preserved Seaton's letter. In England he 'taught the Gospel in all sincerity.' When put on trial at St. Paul's Cross in 1540 or 1541 by Gardiner and Bonner, he is said to have recanted, but on insufficient evidence.—Knox, *Works*, i. 45; Spottiswoode, i. 129; Bellesheim, ii. 150; Hay Fleming, *Reformation*, p. 192.

[2] Lesley and the *Diurnal of Occurrents* allege that Gourlay recanted. Foxe says that he refused to do so, although urged by the king.

[3] Willock preached for a time in London and acted as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, as did Seaton. On the accession of Queen Mary he escaped to Friesland, where for a time he practised as a doctor.

At this date, however, there was a pause in the persecutions. The king seemed to hesitate in his choice between an alliance with England and adherence to Rome. For two years, 1536 and 1537, we read of no impeachments for heresy, and the papal letters have a tone of grave anxiety. An envoy arrived to assure the king of the Pope's thankfulness that Scotland remained steady amidst the disturbance of religion.[4] James 'has kept Scotland undefiled by the poison of neighbouring heresies in spite of frequent temptations,'[5] but manifestly the Pope knew that the cause of the Church in Scotland was in the balance. It was at this point that James urged George Buchanan to his onslaught upon the Franciscans. About the same time he asked the Pope to allow Patrick Hamilton's brother to return to Scotland, assuring the Pope in an easy style that the exile's opinions were now quite sound.[6]

The time of hesitation was brief. Before 1538 James had practically rejected the English overtures, and at the beginning of that year he gave a promise that, in order to promote 'peace among Christians,' he would burn every Lutheran and anti-Romanist in Scotland.[1] He knew that the situation was grave, and warned the Pope that 'not only the faith but the dignity of the ecclesiastical Order, which is the chief part (*praecipua portio*) of the kingdom, is at stake.' 'It is easier,' he continued, 'to maintain a standing Church than to strengthen one which is shattered or raise one that has fallen.' Yet he had in David Beaton an unfaltering and unsparing counsellor. David, who had instigated five executions of Lutherans which had taken place in the last year of his uncle's life, came into sole command at the close of 1538, and a reign of terror followed. 'Daily cometh unto me,' Norfolk wrote to Cromwell, 'some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of the Scripture in English, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution.'[2] Some of the fugitives went no further than Berwick;[3] others made their way to the English midlands, to Germany and to France. George Buchanan, who was one of a group arrested in February 1539, escaped through his prison window, to find a home for three years at Bordeaux, where both his fame and his religion developed. He reports that of those who were apprehended with him many were exiled, nine recanted and five were burnt. Of those who were done to death in 1538 and 1539,[4] the names of about twenty have been preserved, the majority, as in the earlier persecution, being monks, friars or parish priests. The records of the proceedings against them show that at that stage the Reformation movement had both a negative and a positive aspect. On the one hand, it was an outspoken protest against the sloth, vice and avarice of churchmen, and was due to the awakening of intelligence in monasteries[5] and at the universities; and on the other hand, it resulted from the circulation of the New Testament and of evangelical tracts written on the Continent. The attitude of the martyrs varied of course with temperament, personal piety being sometimes more, sometimes less prominent. Two examples will elucidate a subject which has been obscured by controversy. In the one, the only interests raised were those of personal piety and pastoral fidelity; in the other, anti-Romanism appeared in a polemical guise.

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[1] See page 415 f. [2] Keith, *Affairs*, i. 28. [3] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 7.

[4] *Letters and Papers*, *Henry VIII*, xi. 685, 862.

[5] Raynald, ad an. 1537. Robertson says that the Pope sent 'legate after legate in vain.'—*Statuta*, cxxxviii. [6] Theiner, p. 607.

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[1] So Faenza wrote from Paris.—Lang, i. 442; Theiner, p. 610.

[2] *State Papers*, *Henry VIII*, v. iv. 154.

[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 155.

[4] Some particulars are given in Note O.

[5] It is significant that Cambuskenneth, which had been 'reformed' by Myln (see page 409), furnished three of the martyrs.

Thomas Forret, son of a court official and a pupil of Cullen grammar-school, had been converted, while a canon at Inchcolm, through reading St. Augustine. Finding that 'the old bottells would not receave the new wine,' he gave himself to parish work at Dollar, of which he was made vicar. In the persecutions of 1533 he had been censured by his bishop for preaching every Sunday, and had been told that he should be satisfied with 'any good epistle or any good gospel setting forth the liberty of Holy Church.' When he replied that, having read both New Testament and Old Testament, he found them all good, the stolid bishop declared, in words which became almost proverbial, that he thanked God that he never knew what the New Testament and the Old Testament were and had resolved to be guided by breviary and pontifical.[1] Forret was also blamed by his superiors for teaching his flock the Ten Commandments and for having prepared a catechism for boys and girls; but his bishop tolerated him for five years, during which he won the love of his parishioners by zealous ministrations for which he would take no payment and by saving them from the exactions of pardoners. 'Parochiners,' he used to say, 'this is but to deceive you; there is no pardon for our sins that can come to us from pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ.' In 1539 he was called before Beaton and his bishop to give account of his doctrine. He had prepared himself for trial by committing the Epistle to the Romans to memory, and under cross-examination he showed skill as well as courage. He was charged with defective teaching as to the Virgin and the Lord's Supper. To the latter charge he replied, 'I never ministered the sacraments without saying "As the bread entereth your mouth, so shall Christ dwell by lively faith in your hearts"'; whereupon his accusers cried out, 'We will have no preaching here,' and one pulled a New Testament out of Forret's sleeve, saying, 'See the heretic! he has the book held in his sleeve: this it is that makes all the trouble in Holy Kirk and among the prelates thereof.' Forret was condemned and hanged, his body being burnt.[1]

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[1] 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld that knew neither the new law nor the old.'—*Acts and Monuments*, v. 622; Calderwood, *History*, i. 126. According to George Buchanan, many priests contended that the New Testament was a book lately written by Luther.

Very different was the case of Sir John Borthwick, who was put on trial in May 1540 before a large gathering of bishops, priors and barons, condemned in his absence and burnt in effigy. Borthwick was a baron's son, a courtier and a favourite of the king. To some extent he was identified with the political party which favoured an English alliance. One of the charges brought against him was that he had sought to bring the Scottish Church into the same condition as the 'Anglican' and had propagated the 'English heresies.'[2] Yet the other charges show that he had gone far beyond the English Protestants of his time. Not only had he rejected the Pope as Antichrist, papal indulgences as impostures and canon law as contrary to divine law; he had declared that churchmen had deprived the Scots of the true and catholic faith, that the clergy ought not to hold any temporal possessions and that all presbyters ought to marry. Besides possessing a New Testament in English, he was a reader of the works of Melanchthon, Oecolampadius and Erasmus and of a notorious treatise[3] (*Unio dissidentium*) in which the doctrine of justification by faith alone was fully set forth. When he heard that he was charged with holding the 'English heresies,' he protested indignantly that the English still worshipped idols, profaned Baptism and the

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[1] The above is Pitscottie's account (*S.T.S.*, i. 350); Calderwood, who was informed by Forret's servant, does not differ in essentials.

[2] The charges against him are detailed by Foxe and Keith in English, by Lee in Latin.—*Acts and Monuments*, v. 607 ff.; Keith, *Affairs*, i. 337; Lee, *History of Church of Scotland*, i. 328.

[3] *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, i. 96.

Lord's Supper, indulged generally in detestable superstitions and were indeed Christians only in their repudiation of Antichrist.[1] Borthwick, who made good his escape and after the Reformation secured a reversal of the sentence pronounced upon him,[2] is a striking sample of a root and branch anti-Romanism which had found a foothold in Scotland at a time when John Knox was an unknown notary of the Roman Church. It was of such men that Sadleyr reported to Henry VIII: 'Your Majesty's books of religion, to say plain truth, are not much liked here; such as pretend to be professors of God's Word are much offended with the same.'

King and parliament indeed were still wedded to Rome. In the year of Borthwick's trial, at the very meeting of the Estates which passed stinging strictures upon churchmen, Acts were adopted 'for honour to the Holy Sacraments' and the Virgin Mary, forbidding private 'conventicles' for discussion of Scripture and imposing death penalties with confiscation of goods upon any one who should 'impugn the power of the Pope.'[3] These enactments were carried out ruthlessly wherever Beaton was at hand. Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, although free from Beaton's personal vices, vied with him as a persecutor, and the king supported their policy. The attitude of James at this time has perplexed those who look for consistency in the action of rulers in times of religious transition. In January he concurred in Lyndsay's satirical exposure of Church abuses and threatened the bishops with punishment; in March he presided at a parliament which enjoined churchmen to reform their lives yet declared war against all Reformers; and in May he assented to the condemnation of his favourite, Borthwick, for the expression of opinions differing by only a shade from those to which Lyndsay had given voice. It was an inconsistency with which many monarchs of the time may be charged. In this respect Henry VIII outstripped his nephew, burning Romanists and Protestants indiscriminately, when they diverged from that *via media* which he was resolved to enforce.[1] Neither monarch recognized that the religion of his subjects was beyond his control.

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[1] *Acts and Monuments*, v. 613.

[2] Borthwick was employed by Henry VIII on an embassy to the German Protestants. In 1561 he was 'restored to all his lands.'

[3] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 370; Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 281.

In Scotland the change was slower than in England, but it was steadier and more complete. Those who were outside the politics of the time came to assert the need for a revolution in religion. The friars, monks and priests who were first affected by the movement were in contact with the people, and they gained the adherence of a growing number of burghers in the more enterprising centres of trade. The general movement of opinion among the trading classes comes to light in unexpected directions. In a Perth church, for instance, when a friar condemned Protestant preachers, some school children, who had been taught by their father, an artisan, to repeat Lyndsay's verses, broke out into loud hissing at the preacher and, far from being punished for the offence, brought over their schoolmaster to the cause of Reformation.[2] In 1543 the town council of Aberdeen assigned a stipend, with lodgings, to two friars for 'teaching and preaching the true Word of God.'[3] Two other friars in Edinburgh denounced the Church and set forth the need for Scripture-reading and Scriptural teaching with a vehemence which alarmed the local Franciscans.[4] In the same year it was alleged in parliament that 'heretics more and more rose and spread within the realm, sowing damnable opinions contrary to the faith and laws of Holy Kirk and the Acts and Constitutions of the realm.'[5]

An effective contribution to the change was made by the diffusion of religious ballads, specially by the productions of the Wedderburns, three sons of a Forfarshire laird, to whom were due the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, published in 1542 or very soon thereafter. Two of the brothers were Dundee parish priests, and all three had to flee to the Continent immediately after Beaton's promotion. John found refuge at Wittenberg, where he was imbued with the spirit of Lutheran hymnology. Returning to Scotland in December 1542, he issued versions of some Lutheran hymns in the vernacular, along with religious renderings of familiar Scottish ballads setting forth evangelical doctrine with considerable pathos and power.[1] The ballads were rude in rhyme and their style was frequently grotesque, but they appealed to the popular ear so persuasively that in 1543 the Privy Council found it expedient to prohibit the 'making, writing or printing of any such literature' under penalty of death.[2] Although the Wedderburns were not the originators of this method of teaching,[3] and its importance was greater at a later stage, the enactment shows that the Church party regarded it with unconcealed alarm.[4]

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[1] In that very year (1540) three Protestants and three Romanists were burnt together at Smithfield.—Gairdner, *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 218.

[2] Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 7-9.

[3] The two friars were also expected to pray daily for Arran, for the realm and for Aberdeen.—*Reg. Episc. Aberd.*, p. 189.

[4] This was in February 1542-3, when Arran was resisting Beaton. The two friars who preached 'new doctrine' were Dominicans.—*Hamilton Papers*, i. 418, 426; Knox, *Works*, i. 95 ff.; Lesley, *History*, p. 171.

[5] *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 433.

The effect produced by these varied appeals, whether they were made in sermons by converted friars or in popular verses, was largely due to their simplicity. They contained no references to the controversies by which the continental Reformers of the time were divided, nor any approach to the argumentative treatment of the papal system which was taking shape in England. The truth presented was direct, forceful, personal—that each man, by reading the Bible in his mother tongue and by the exercise of faith, might gain that peace of conscience which his official pastors presented to him as dependent upon sacraments and other ordinances. This religious appeal was supported by social and economic forces. Emancipation was offered by the new teaching from a servitude by which everyday life was impoverished and depressed, and a basis was supplied for disavowing and resisting the overbearing authority of churchmen. The motives which thus stimulated a revolt against Rome were, for a few years, in conflict with the patriotic sentiment which favoured Rome as the protector of the nation against England. There was a variety of view in different localities, according as the one strain of feeling or the other dominated. But the issue was determined by the fact that the bondage which the Church imposed upon conscience and life was embodied in standing institutions, whereas the anti-English sentiment lost cogency as soon as fears of English aggression were abated.

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[1] The ballads were published in some shape before 1546. A metrical version of the Psalms, also ascribed to the Wedderburns, was probably of a later date. See Mitchell, *The Wedderburns and their Work*; also *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, Scottish Text Society.

[2] A Dominican, Keillor, who was burnt at Edinburgh in 1538, had given offence in this way, as had Kennedy, a young Glasgow martyr of 1539.

[3] In England there was in 1540 'a regular war of ballad-makers.'—Gairdner, *Lollardy*, ii. 290.

[4] The influence of such literature will fall to be defined in a later chapter.

The Reformers who were gaining the ear of the populace were not politicians, but their dangers and their necessities were in line with those of the political party which Beaton had worsted. That party had from the first been opposed to Rome and had made 'the Word of God' one of its watchwords. James V, immediately before his death, had received from the churchmen a list of three hundred and sixty of the gentry who were so 'heretical' that he might reasonably confiscate their property.[1] Some of the three hundred and sixty were men of questionable rectitude, and a few of them were disreputable adventurers. As the years passed, the party became more 'heretical'—more clearly convinced that their only hope lay in a repudiation of the system as well as of the authority of Rome. The overthrow of the Church came within sight when the interests of this party and of the religious Reformers were, for a time at least, identified.

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[1] See page 434. The list was probably twice presented to the king. He is said to have refused it at first and then to have put it into his pocket unread. Sadleyr heard of it from the Regent Arran, and it is referred to by Knox.—*Sadleyr Papers*, i. 94; Knox, *Works*, i. 81, 82, 84; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 54, 75.

NOTE N. PAGE 451.

Alexander Alane, or Alesius.

Alexander Alane was born at Edinburgh in 1500. One of the first group of students at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, he graduated as B.A. in 1515 and studied under John Major (see page 412) in 1523. In 1528, when he had become a canon, he was employed in the efforts made to convict Patrick Hamilton of heresy, and was so impressed by Hamilton's teaching that he withdrew from the case. Soon after Hamilton's martyrdom, in 1529, he himself was condemned and imprisoned for strictures upon the dissolute clergy. He escaped from prison and, sailing for France, was driven by storm to Malmö, where he was welcomed by the young Protestant community formed two years before. From Sweden he passed to Belgium and after a short stay in France arrived at Wittenberg, where he gained the friendly respect of Melanchthon, with the designation 'Alesius' or 'wanderer.'

When in 1533 he wrote his tract against the Scottish bishops, who had forbidden the reading of the New Testament in the vernacular, Cochlaeus responded in a tract dedicated to James v, receiving financial acknowledgment from the king and also from the two Scottish archbishops. Alane issued a *Responsio* to the tract.

In 1535, after discharging the mission to Henry VIII mentioned in the text, he lectured for a time at Queens' College, Cambridge, but was forced to withdraw to London, where he practised medicine for three years and married an English lady. He was present at the execution of Anne Boleyn. A chance meeting with Thomas Cromwell in 1537 led to his being introduced to Convocation, as a speaker against the Seven Sacraments; but his violence required to be checked. Cranmer employed him in the translating of the Prayer-book into Latin.

In 1540, after Cromwell's death, he fled from England with two other Scottish exiles to Wittenberg, and at once was recognized as a man of importance, being deputed to represent the Lutherans at Worms, Ratisbon, etc. He lectured as a professor till 1543, when he quarrelled with the city magistrates as to the 'regulation of vice,' and removed to Leipzig, where he lectured at the University for the remaining twenty-one years of his life. He twice held the position of Rector and was a valued ally of Melanchthon in several controversies. In the Osiander debates he took the moderate side, opposing the extreme Lutherans and insisting upon the necessity of 'good works.' It was he who drew up the copy of the Augsburg Confession for the Council of Trent. Generally, he was an advocate of conciliation. Beza says 'he was dear to all scholars and would have been an ornament of Scotland, if the light of the gospel had been granted earlier to that country'; and Camerarius in his

Life of Melanchthon styles him: 'Rei theologicae intelligentissimum, artificem excellentem congruentium disputationum . . . dignitate atque doctrina exquisita praestantem.'

He frequently thought of returning to Scotland, and in 1543 addressed a 'Cohortatio ad concordiam pietatis ac doctrinae Christianae defensionem.' Dr. Mitchell gives a list of his writings, including tracts,—'Against Servetus,' 'On the Word of God,' 'On Justification,' 'On Apostolical Traditions' and 'On the Trinity': also a description of Edinburgh published at Basel in 1550. He died in 1565.

Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 239 ff.; Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 139, 167, 236, 241; Gairdner, *Lollardy*, ii. 279, 321; Hill Burton, *Scot Abroad*, pp. 280 ff.; Fischer, *Scots in Germany*, pp. 165-9; Weber in *Herzog*, *s.v.* 'Aless'; *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society, xv.; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. 197.

NOTE O. Page 456.

The persecutions of 1538 *and* 1539.

The following list, although not exhaustive, will indicate the result of David Beaton's accession to supreme power more definitely than the general statement in the text.

1. In 1538 Robert Richardson, canon of Cambuskenneth, who had denounced monks for immorality in 1530, fled into England; he returned to Scotland in 1543 and preached Lutheran doctrines, but had again to flee. He is probably the priest mentioned in Sadleyr's letters of June 5 and November 16, 1543, as having been sent by Henry VIII to preach to the Regent.

2. In 1538 John Richardson, another canon of Cambuskenneth, fled to England.

3. In 1538 Robert Logie, novice-master and canon of Cambuskenneth, brother of Gavin Logie of St. Andrews, also fled to England.

4. On March 1, 1538-9, five men were burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, viz. Simson, priest or 'chaplain' of Stirling; Beverage, a Dominican friar; Keillor, another Dominican, who had satirized bishops and monks in a miracle play (see page 461 n. 2); Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar (see page 457 f.); Robert Forrester, a layman.

5. In 1539 George Buchanan was imprisoned but escaped through a window (see page 456).

6. In 1539 Gavin Logie probably fled from St. Andrews (see page 453 and n. 3).

7. John Wedderburn, priest at Dundee, was convicted and fled

in 1539; his brother, James, in 1540. The flight of Robert, vicar of Dundee, was two or three years later (see page 461).

8. In 1539 a 'heretic' was burnt at Cupar.

9. In 1539 two men were burnt at Glasgow, viz. Jerome Russell, a Franciscan or Cordelier, and Kennedy, a young layman who had shown great gifts in vernacular verse (see page 461 n. 2).

10. Besides these, 'some gentlemen and some clerks arrived daily' at Norfolk's quarters, fleeing out of Scotland 'for reading of Scripture in English, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution' (see page 456).

CHAPTER XXII

BEATON AND WISHART

1544-1546

Beaton's fierce persecutions—His rivalry with Dunbar—Rising opposition, with plottings—George Wishart—His 'congregations' at Dundee—A conference arranged—Wishart's arrest and martyrdom—Assassination of Beaton—'All is gone!'—His repression of reform—Permanent results in Scottish religion.

BEATON was in command of affairs at the close of 1543. In December the Estates under his guidance renounced the treaty with England and renewed the league with France. Besides having the infant queen in his keeping, he had laid hold of several prominent adherents of the English cause and had won others, including the Regent, for his policy. In January he imposed upon the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Cassillis and Glencairn an agreement to unite with Arran, for protection of the realm against England 'and for liberty of Holy Kirk and defence of the Christian faith.' Skilful diplomacy, with a successful siege of Glasgow, where Lennox, who 'continued to give trouble,' had taken refuge, appeared to place the country 'at the will of the French party,'[1] the popular dislike for Henry VIII being at the time intense.

In order to complete his victory, Beaton set himself to stamp out heresy. Turning first to the Dundee district, he apprehended and executed a Black friar, John Roger, who had 'preached Christ Jesus' in Angus and Mearns, and dealt similarly with other offenders,

'Sum with the fyre, sum with the sword and knyfe;
In speciale mony gentyll men of Fyfe.'

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[1] Hume Brown, ii. 12; Hill Burton, iii. 227.

Thereafter he made Perth the centre of a 'visitation,' or assize, so savage that his apologists omit the details and merely state that it was 'very severe.' Several citizens of Perth were convicted of heresy. While all forfeited their goods, four were hanged. 'He brunt mony lymnaries,'[1] the usual charge being that they had argued or 'held opinions about Holy Writ' in defiance of the Act of parliament. Some were said to have protested audibly in church against the doctrines preached there, and others were charged with having denied the necessity for invoking saints in prayer. The wife of one victim, James Ranaldson, a man who had 'disputed' about Scripture, was convicted of having refused, when in child-birth, to pray to the Virgin; and, when she begged that she might be hanged beside her husband, this was refused and she was drowned in the Tay. The Regent demurred at the cruelty, but Beaton, having determined to show an example to the bishops, threatened to break with him unless he acquiesced in the sentence.[2] This was the beginning of a ruthless campaign, the extent of which is shown by an entry in the Treasurer's accounts, that 'fifty-four cart horses were hired for the punishing of certain heretics.'[3] When the campaign closed, Beaton wrote to the Pope that 'by the clemency of Almighty God those differences with regard to the Christian religion and the heretical opinions which formerly flourished have been almost extinguished.'[4]

Politically also, Beaton was for the time successful, outwitting the craft of the strong-willed English monarch. In January Henry, enraged with the failure of the marriage treaty, declared war, and in March he issued wily orders to his legates for dealing with the 'assured Scots,' several of whom were still in receipt of regular payment. He put in front of his orders an instruction that care must be taken that 'the Word of God be truly taught and preached in Scotland.' In May an English army was landed at Leith Edinburgh was captured and the Lothians were laid waste; while, before the summer was over, the queen-mother increased the turmoil by an attempt to oust the Regent. Beaton, who was hard pressed, wrote to Rome that the kingdom was 'affected' and that he himself was exposed to incessant toil and danger. In the spring of 1545, when reporting to the Pope a signal victory over the English at Ancrum Moor, he requested funds to enable him to complete his vindication of 'the liberties of the Church.'[1] His forces were increased by the arrival of French auxiliaries;[2] but they proved worthless allies and in autumn he had to face another English invasion, in the course of which the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh and Dryburgh were destroyed. Yet his unswerving courage and resourceful persistency were triumphant.[3]

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[1] *I.e.* rogues.

[2] Keith, *Affairs*, i. 98; *Chronicles and Memorabilia of Perth*. Mitchell (*The Scottish Reformation*, p. 53) places the visitation of Perth before the visitation of Dundee.

[3] Lang, who thinks that those who call Beaton 'infamous lack the historical sense,' recognizes that at this stage he probably showed 'a strange ferocity' and 'a brutality unheard of.'—*History of Scotland*, i. 459, 476.

[4] In July 1545.—Theiner, p. 617.

In the Church he had one rival who would have checked the ambitions of a weaker man. Gavin Dunbar, who began his career as tutor to the king and prior of Whithorn, had been promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1524, and from 1528 till 1543 was also Chancellor of the kingdom. When in 1543 the reading of the Bible in English was for a few months sanctioned by parliament,[4] he lodged a protest on behalf of the bishops. He was not less loyal to Rome than Beaton nor less hostile to England, and he showed eagerness in prosecuting Lutherans. In the earlier years of his archiepiscopate he had, as we have seen, contended for the independence of Glasgow with some success, and a *modus vivendi* had been reached. But Beaton's ambition could not tolerate equality even in the interest of the cause he represented. He wrested the Great Seal from Dunbar's hands [1] and, amidst his incessant activities against England and against 'heresy,' found time to vindicate his primatial dignity. He was not indeed wholly successful; Dunbar's influence at court was strong and he managed to maintain the exemption from the authority of St. Andrews granted to him at his accession; but Beaton secured a limitation of the exemption to Dunbar's lifetime.[2] The imposition of this limit, in 1545, was connected with an episode which illustrates the violence and disorder of Church life.[3] On the occasion of the visit of the Regent and his court to Glasgow, a contest arose between the two archbishops as to precedence. Dunbar insisted that his official cross should head a procession, while Beaton contended that the cross of a papal legate must have priority. The contest passed into an actual fight, of which Knox has left this record :—

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[1] Theiner, p. 615.

[2] The subsidizing of the one party by the French was as notorious as that of the other by the English. On October 10, 1543, Sadleyr wrote of 'yearly pensions bestowed upon the nobility of the French king's liberality,' and on November 13 he wrote that the promise of 'the said king to wage 10,000 Scottish men,' made the Church party 'high and proud and eager for the war with England.'

[3] In November 1545 Henry VIII unsuccessfully attempted to capture Dumbarton through his paid partisans in the west highlands.—Hume Brown, ii. 19.

[4] See page 436.

> 'At the choir door of Glasgow kirk begins striving betwixt the two cross-bearers. . . . For charity's sake, they cry, "dispersit, dedit pauperibus," and essay which of the crosses was finest metal, which staff was strongest and which bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence. . . . To the ground go both the crosses. And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for gowns were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were broken and side-gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other. . . . How merrily ever this be written, it was bitter mirth to the Cardinal and his court.'

In this struggle the lives of the Regent and his staff were endangered. Both he and Beaton made immediate representations to the Pope of the 'iniquity' displayed by

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[1] At the close of 1543.

[2] Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, p. 253 n.

[3] Knox's account of the episode is borne out by other authorities, including Beaton's own letter to the Pope. The date of the encounter is uncertain. Dowden places it in October 1543, and thinks that there was another tumult in Glasgow cathedral in June 1545. Herkless and Hannay favour this view. —Knox, *Works*, i. 147; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 39; Lesley, *History*, p. 178; Theiner, p. 617; *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 345-7; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 171-4.

Dunbar,[1] alleging that he had been the aggressor, and a commission of inquiry was appointed; but Dunbar seems not to have been punished or even reprimanded.[2]

Such resistance to Beaton's authority, however, was in itself little more than an incident. He was the outstanding figure both in Church and State. In the very letter in which he accused Dunbar he wrote: 'I spare no vigils, toils or costs in labouring and watching for the freedom of the Church, the dignity of the Holy Apostolic see and the integrity of this realm.' Convening the Provincial Council to meet at St. Andrews in virtue of a brief granted by the Pope, he addressed a special monition to Dunbar, threatening him with excommunication in its direst form if he neglected the summons.[3] Before the Council met, he held at Edinburgh a 'Convention' or impromptu meeting of the clergy, and secured from them a contribution of thirteen thousand pounds to defend 'the realm against the English, its ancient enemies,' and their abettors—the sum to be raised by a levy upon all prelacies and benefices worth forty pounds a year.[4] These things were done imperiously, as by an absolute monarch, and among the clergy none but Dunbar gave any sign of resistance or even of resentment. Outside Scotland Beaton's power was clearly recognized, and by no one more clearly than by Pope Paul III. The papacy was at a great crisis. In December 1545, after prolonged tension, the Council of Trent opened its eventful proceedings. The Pope was bent upon securing the attendance of all skilful and trusted champions of the rights of Rome, and Ignatius Loyola himself was not more deeply pledged than Beaton to the Chair of St. Peter. Thrice Beaton was summoned urgently, and thrice he answered that the pressure of Church affairs prevented him from leaving Scotland. Two thousand five hundred pounds were raised by the Provincial Council for the expenses of 'Orators' to be despatched to Trent,[1] but Beaton, in his own words, was 'required at home.' How different the course of the Scottish Reformation might have been, if Beaton had obeyed the papal summons and had been absent from Scotland in 1546!

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[1] The Regent's letter is dated May 17, 1545; Beaton's letter, July 8, 1545. —Theiner, pp. 616, 617.

[2] Primatial rights had led to contests almost as violent in England and in Ireland.

[3] The brief was dated May 1, 1545.—*Statuta*, cclxii.

[4] The dates at this important stage are perplexing. Joseph Robertson suggests that Beaton did not use the brief till some months after January 1546; but before that date the two archbishops had been reconciled, and it is scarcely conceivable that a monition laden with hatred could then have been addressed to Dunbar. The summons must have been issued in 1545. According to the *Diurnal*, the Council met on March 28, 1546; according to Lesley 'in the beginning of March.'—*Statuta*, cxliv.; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42; Lesley, *History*, p. 191.

Amidst his triumphs, Beaton was aware that the opposition to his policy was gaining ground. Even in his letter of thanksgiving he speaks again and again of Scotland as 'swarming with heresy.' The sanction to Bible-reading granted in 1543, although qualified by conditions, resulted in a wide circulation of English New Testaments. 'There was,' writes Knox,[2] 'no small victory of Christ Jesus. . . . The Bible in English tongue might be seen lying upon almost every gentleman's table.' With his characteristic hatred of 'political religion,' Knox describes severely the hypocrisy of the politicians who made a display of love for the Bible; and yet, he continues, although there were many hypocrites, 'the knowledge of God did wondrously increase, and God gave His Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance.' By this reference to 'simple men' Knox indicates the fact, recorded in last chapter, that the Reformation was gaining hold of those who were outside political life, and specially the burgesses of trading towns. It was against them principally that Beaton directed his energies, and among them a deep-seated hatred of his cruelties blended with acceptance of the doctrines which he had determined to suppress. Attacks were made upon church buildings, not only at Perth and Dundee[3] but at Arbroath and probably elsewhere; and, even where popular feeling was still anti-English, Beaton was condemned. Opinion was manifestly veering round. In Edinburgh, for instance, the citizens repelled attacks upon the Church party in 1542 and 1543; but when in 1545 the city and Holyrood abbey were sacked by the English the women on the streets muttered to one another 'Wa worth the Cardinal!'[1]

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[1] Register House Taxatio, quoted in *Statuta*, ii. 287. There is no record of the attendance of any Scot at Trent.

[2] Knox, *Works*, i. 100.

[3] See page 444.

While this feeling spread among the commons, the 'assured Scots' and those who favoured an alliance with England came to recognize that, as long as Beaton was at large, their cause was hopeless, and a plot took shape for making away with him or handing him over to Henry VIII. As early as April 1544, an offer was made to Henry by 'a Scottish man called Wysshert,' acting on behalf of a Midlothian laird, Crichton of Brunstone, that Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, and John Charteris would kill or apprehend the Cardinal, if they had assurance of the king's 'support and maintenance.' The proposal was acceptable to Henry, who had for years been eager to lay hands on Beaton; and, although it miscarried,[2] it was renewed twice in 1545—in May by the Earl of Cassillis, who had been one of George Buchanan's pupils and was now an 'assured Scot,' and in July by the Laird of Brunstone. Henry could not come to terms with either of the plotters, but through Sadleyr he let Brunstone know that he would please God and serve his country by taking the Cardinal out of the way.[3] Meanwhile the party to which Cassillis and Brunstone belonged, watching the progress of opinion in Scotland, gained increasing confidence, and when, at the close of 1545, it became known that a Church Convention would be held in January,[4] they resolved that the bishops should be faced by an advocate of the Reformed faith.[5] They chose as advocate a man in whose fortunes the issues of the Scottish Church were for a few weeks concentrated.

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[1] So the imprecation appears in the *Hamilton Papers*. In *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII* (XIX. i. 483), it is a direct curse—'Wa worth the, Cardinal!' In writings of the period 'thee' is frequently written 'the.'

[2] Henry offered an asylum and £1000 if 'hostages were given.'—Haynes, *State Papers*, 32, 33; Hill Burton, iii. 258.

[3] *State Papers*, *Henry VIII*, XX. i. 834.

[4] See page 470.

[5] It is not clear what kind of meeting was intended. Certainly Wishart could not have taken part in a regular meeting of Council. Knox (*Works*, i. 131) says that Wishart was to be 'publicly heard' and 'disputation required' of the bishops. Lang (*Hist.*, i. 486, 487) thinks that the plan was that Wishart should 'encounter the clergy in controversy' and that 'a popular demonstration was contemplated.'

The figure of George Wishart is in its own way as representative as that of Beaton, exhibiting the attitude and temper of the religious Reformers of his time in Scotland. His career has already been traced up to the date at which he found refuge at Bristol from the persecutions of 1535.[1] At Bristol he came under suspicion of heresy and, when charged before Cranmer with having denied the merits of Christ, retracted publicly certain statements which he had made. The Six Articles enactment of 1539, which prescribed terrible penalties for the denial of transubstantiation, clerical celibacy and other Roman doctrines,[2] drove him with other Scottish exiles out of England. Unlike the refugees of an earlier date, he betook himself to the headquarters of the Swiss Reformers, Zürich, Basel and Strassburg, and there identified himself with their beliefs, setting himself to translate into English their Confession of 1536, the 'First Helvetic.'[3] In 1542 he returned to England and settled as a tutor at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The following description of him was written by one of his Cambridge pupils:—[4]

> 'A man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet and plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands; all the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man

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[1] See page 454 f. A compact account of Wishart will be found in Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 56 ff.

[2] Perry, *English Church History*, ii. 166.

[3] See page 425.

[4] Emery Tylney. The description, which is quoted above with some excisions, will be found at length in *Acts and Monuments*, v. 626, and in Hill Burton, iii. 251. The editor of Keith's *Affairs* (i. 103) omits the passages in which Wishart is most highly commended. Wishart's portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh

modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, for his charity had never end night, noon nor day. He forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except somewhat to comfort nature. He lay upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvas sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water in the which (his people [pupils ?] being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe and would have slain him. But the Lord was his defence and he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility that had come for a treaty to King Henry. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors. If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all men and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.'

To balance such praises, it should be added that the Bristol records describe him as a 'stiff-necked Scot' and that Knox speaks of him as 'most sharp of eye and speech.' If Wishart had lived two centuries earlier, he would have been an adherent of Wyclif, to whom indeed he bore some personal resemblance; if four centuries earlier, he would have been the founder of an Order of monks, for at the next stage of his career we find him living quietly in his native parish of Fordoun and adorning the walls of his dwelling with frescoes.

Yet there was this incalculable difference between him and the Reformers of the fourteenth and twelfth centuries, that he was furnished with a creed in which the leading dogmas of Rome were systematically repudiated, and that his religion centred in the doctrine which gave the sixteenth-century Reformers their freedom and their power. His beliefs are defined in maxims appended to the above description:—

> '*Dogmata eiusdem Georgii.*
> Fides sola sine operibus iustificat:
> Opera ostendunt et ostentant fidem:
> Romana ecclesia putative caput mundi:
> Lex canonica caput papae:
> Missae ministerium mysterium iniquitatis.'

A digression must be made here into a question which has been debated for two centuries and has been enlivened by several sharp controversies. Was Wishart the Reformer identical with 'the Scottish man called Wysshert' who acted as agent for the 'assured Scots' in the proposal to apprehend Beaton which was made in April 1544? Roman Catholic writers have unanimously answered 'Yes' and have stigmatized Wishart as a political agent in a murderous plot. Hill Burton holds the identification to be 'natural enough' and speaks of Wishart as a 'fallen star.' On the other hand, Protestant controversialists have urged the improbability of a recluse, such as has been described above, being selected for a secret diplomatic errand even if he had been willing. More conclusive are two facts, the evidence for which appears to be sufficient: (1) the Reformer did not leave Cambridge for Scotland until 1544. Even if he made his journey at the very beginning of the year, it is difficult to imagine him getting so far into the plans of the conspirators as to carry out their errand in April. (2) There were at that time several 'Wisharts' in Scotland, including a certain native of Dundee who was implicated in the attack made upon the monasteries. Most recent historians have attached much weight to these two considerations, and have agreed that the burden of identification lies with the assailants of the Reformer's reputation. Only by the discovery of some fresh document is the question likely to be settled beyond doubt.[1]

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[1] Hume Brown (ii. 22, 23) holds that 'so far as the evidence goes, no conclusion can be fairly drawn,' but that there is 'a strong presumption' against the identification. Lang (i. 487) says that the identification 'cannot be proved'; all is 'matter of probability not of demonstration.' Roman historians of the Scottish Church, while asserting Wishart's guilt, tender no evidence.—Bellesheim, ii. 173; Walsh, *History of Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 264. See Knox, *Works*, i. 125; Grub, ii. 23; Hay Fleming in *Contemporary Review*, September 1898.

In 1544 Wishart appeared as a preacher at Montrose and Dundee, expounding the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the Epistle to the Romans in a fervid and prophetic tone.[1] How far the Reformation had already advanced is shown by his being allowed to preach in parish churches for a considerable time. When ultimately he was ordered by the magistrates at the instigation of Beaton[2] to leave Dundee, he betook himself to the west country and continued his ministry there in the old haunts of the Lollards. A plague which broke out at Dundee in 1545 led the citizens to invite him to return as a minister of consolation. Obeying the call, he moved about the smitten town for several months, winning the gratitude of the sufferers but provoking the clergy by the trend of his teaching. A priest attempted to assassinate him on the streets[3] and, when the passers-by would have torn the priest in pieces, Wishart sheltered him in his arms, saying, 'He has hurt me in nothing, but has let us understand what we may fear in times to come.' Thenceforward, it is said, when he went forth to preach there was carried before him a two-handed sword.

It was about this time that he was invited by Brunstone, Cassillis and their allies to face Beaton and the bishops in debate. Their reason for selecting him was not only his proved faculty of public speech. He had begun to set the Reformation in Scotland upon a basis of doctrine and organization. His adherents at Montrose, Dundee and probably elsewhere met as congregations and received the Supper from him in both kinds, with singing of hymns and metrical psalms; while his translation, not only of the Swiss Confession but of a Zürich Communion-office, served to define Church fellowship. Although his work in this direction was tentative, he was the first to see, or at least the first to show, that in Scotland the Reformation must be shaped into a separate Church. Thus it was natural that the anti-Roman party regarded him as their best advocate, and also that Beaton hailed the opportunity of dealing with so indubitable a 'heretic.'

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[1] There is no reason for connecting him with the Dundee riots. Another George Wishart was put on trial for having led in the riots, and Arran is said to have confessed that he sanctioned them.—*Hamilton Papers*, ii. 15, 38; Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 63; Lang, i. 485; Hay Fleming, p. 356.

[2] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 189.

[3] According to Knox (*Works*, i. 130) the would-be assassin was hired by Beaton.

In December Wishart proceeded to Leith and thence, Cassillis and the others not having arrived, into East Lothian, where he preached from place to place. The bearer of his two-handed sword was a Church notary, at that time resident tutor to three boys at Longniddry House, John Knox, who made this modest yet significant entrance into history. Knox has given an account of a sermon which Wishart preached at Haddington, and of the preacher's disappointment at the smallness of the congregation, due, it was said, to the threats of Earl Bothwell. 'I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at ane vane clerk-play two or three thousand people; and now, to hear the messenger of the Eternal God, of all thy town nor parish cannot be numbered a hundred persons.'[1] Knox speaks of the vehemence and threatenings of the sermon and also of the preacher's parting exhortation to 'patience, the fear of God and works of mercy.' By this time Beaton had learnt where Wishart was lodged and persuaded Earl Bothwell to apprehend him. Wishart had friends beside him, but Bothwell effected the capture by promising to protect him against Beaton and the Regent till he could set him free. Knox pleaded for leave to accompany him, but Wishart replied, 'Nay, return to your bairns and God bless you! One is sufficient for one sacrifice.' On January 16 Bothwell, breaking his promise,[2] handed over Wishart to Beaton, who carried him off to St. Andrews and at once placed him on trial before a Church Council, either one specially convened or the meeting held for the purpose of contributing to the expenses of the

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[1] Knox, *Works*, i. 138.

[2] Bothwell was instructed by the Privy Council to deliver his prisoner to the Regent. Lang (i. 492) thinks that this liberated Bothwell from his pledge and entitled him to hand over Wishart to Beaton.

Council of Trent.[1] He was tried in the abbey church on eighteen charges, of which the chief were as follows :—

That he had preached after being prohibited by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; that he had denied that there are seven sacraments and had, in particular, affirmed that neither auricular confession nor extreme unction is a sacrament and that the sacrament of the altar is only common bread; that he had alleged that every layman is a priest and that the Pope has no more power than any other man; that he had denied the freedom of the will, purgatory and the lawfulness of prayer to the saints and had asserted that priests may lawfully marry; that he had said that it is vain to build costly churches in honour of God, since He dwells not in temples built with hands, and that God cannot be held in so little a space as the hands of a priest.[2]

Some of these charges he denied, and as to others he expressed dubiety; but he was firm in asserting the priesthood of all believers and in claiming that all dogmas must be tested by Scripture. In the course of the trial[3] he was insulted and buffeted. When he was declared to be a heretic and condemned to death, the regent and other officials of the University protested against the sentence.[4] On the morning of his execution he asked to be allowed to receive the Sacrament in both kinds, but the bishops pronounced that an obstinate heretic was unworthy of the Church's favours. When breakfasting with the governor and warders of the castle, he 'discoursed on the Passion of our Lord and thereafter partook of bread and wine and distributed them to all present.' Whether he was burnt to death on March 1, or only strangled (or hanged) his body being afterwards burnt, is indistinct. Among various traditions about the trial and execution which cannot be regarded as authentic, must be reckoned George Buchanan's story that Beaton looked out upon the martyrdom from a gaily decorated window with proud satisfaction, and was warned by the dying man that his own doom would fall within a few days. More in keeping with Wishart's character is the tradition that, after praying for his executioners, he closed his testimony by saying that he expected to sup with his Saviour before the night was spent. History endorses the story that many of the spectators, including Leslie, a brother of the Earl of Rothes, ground their teeth and swore that they would take vengeance on the Cardinal.

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[1] See page 471. The difficulty of discriminating between the Councils and Conventions held in January and March 1545-6 is insuperable.

[2] The above is an abstract, not a quotation.

[3] Foxe has embodied in the *Acts and Monuments* (v. 628-36) a pamphlet narrating the trial with full details of the charges. Knox in his *History* (i. 148 ff.) quotes the pamphlet, saying that he takes it verbatim from Foxe. Lang (*History*, i. 488, 492) hazards the paradox that Knox himself wrote the pamphlet.

[4] G. Buchanan tells that Beaton carried on the trial in defiance of Arran, who declined to supply a criminal judge to pass sentence and declared that he would not 'consent to the destruction' of Wishart without 'diligent inquiry into the cause.'—*History*, bk. xv. ch. xxxiv. So Pitscottie, Dalyell's ed., p. 454.

Beaton himself had no premonitions. The deed accomplished, he proceeded into Angus for the wedding of one of his daughters to the Master of Crawfurd. The nuptials were magnificent and he, the leader of the men who had burnt a priest for marrying, signed the wedding contract, designating the bride as his daughter. Tidings arrived that the English were preparing a descent upon the Scottish coast, and he hurried to Edinburgh and thence to St. Andrews to marshal the defenders of the liberties of the Church, impervious to the grim irony by which the whole business was pervaded.

It was not the English, however, that Beaton had reason to fear. The Scottish nation was not blind. Only eighteen years had passed since the burning of Patrick Hamilton, but they had sufficed to give a wider outlook and a steadier perspective, with a recognition of the rights of individuals which made tyranny intolerable. The one martyrdom startled men into inquiry, the other pointed straight towards the duty of resistance. The treatment of Wishart was the culmination of a policy which had become growingly offensive to the national conscience. It was so treacherous, so shameless, so indefensible,[1] that it fired the train of forces which had been gathering. The 'assured lords' now knew, or thought they knew, that without any help from England they would be supported in the scheme which they had been laying for two years. On May 29 Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, John Leslie, his uncle, Kirkcaldy of Grange, James Melvin and some others[1] forced their way into the castle, butchered Beaton after a fierce struggle and hung his battered body out of the window.[2] Knox reports that Melvin, the only one of the band who was fully identified with the Reformation, attempted to check the 'cholere' of the others, saying,

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[1] So cautious a writer as Grub (ii. 27) recognizes that 'no single event caused such a deep feeling in the popular mind as the burning of Wishart.'

> '"This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity"; and presenting unto him the point of the sword, he said, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart, which . . . we from God are sent to revenge. . . . I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches nor the fear of any trouble thou couldest have done to me in particular moved nor moves me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Jesus Christ and his holy Evangel." And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stog sword; and so he fell, never word heard out of his mouth but "I am a priest, I am a priest; fy, fy! all is gone."'[3]

Knox was far from regarding the deed as a religious one. He recognized that most of the assassins were stimulated by political motives and personal enmities. The speech which he puts in Melvin's lips has a length and a formality which indicate that it cannot have actually been spoken. Manifestly it is intended to explain, in Knox's dramatic style, that behind the plotting, the bribery and the brutality of the outrage there was a providential judgment, and that religious men had reason to give thanks that Beaton was dead. Throughout the country this was the general feeling. Men were startled but not horrified. It was recognized that a murderer had been murdered, and the retaliation was variously regarded. One strain of sentiment was expressed in an anonymous verse :—

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[1] Probably eight or nine in all; the number is variously given. Herkless and Hannay (iv. 202) say 'seven.'

[2] Knox, *Works*, i. 177 ff.

[3] On the morrow, when the town provost and a band of citizens appeared before the castle, Norman Leslie asked them if they wished to see a dead man. Thereafter they hung the body over the wall by arm and foot and 'bade the people see their god.'—*Letters and Papers*, *Henry VIII*, XXI. i. 948. Outrages were perpetrated upon the corpse, which was left unburied for seven or nine months.

'As for the Cardinal, I grant
He was a man we well could want,
And we'll forget him sune ;
But yet I think, the sooth to say,
Although the loon is well away,
The deed was foully done.'

David Lyndsay, to whom these lines have without reason been ascribed, was of a different mind. His antagonism to the Roman Church, like that of many Scotsmen, was becoming more and more pronounced. Eight or nine months after the event he penned one of his most careful poems, *The Tragedie of the Cardinall*, in which he represents Beaton's ghost as setting forth the lessons of his career to prelates and princes. He sketches his ambition, cruelty, pride and falsity, his poor notion of patriotism, his infidelity to spiritual office, without a word of censure on the deed :—

'Some say it was ane manifest mirakle ;
Some say it was ane divine punitioun.'

The ghost's last words to the bishops are :—

'Allace ! and ye that sorrowfull sycht hade sene,
Quhow I lay bullerand,[1] baithit in my blude,
To mend your lyfe it had occasioun bene,
And leif your auld corruptit consuetude ;
Failyeing thareof, than, schortlie I conclude,
Without ye frome your rebaldrye aryse,
Ye sall be servit on the samyn wyse.'

Abstract judgments upon the morality of tyrannicide are sterile, and there would be no profit in a critical analysis of the motives which prompted the murder of such a tyrant as Beaton. The business of the historian is to show how such deeds were estimated at the time and how they affected history. Some recent Roman writers have spoken of Beaton as deserving praise for his moderation and indeed as receiving a martyr's crown, but there was no such idea in the sixteenth century. The Regent wrote to the Pope that he had been wickedly deprived of 'an excellent man, most devoted to the commonweal, who had shared all his toil and danger and occupied the place of a father to him,'[1] and the Roman party in Scotland was struck with consternation and startled into a desperate endeavour to remove the most flagrant Church abuses; but of indignation or even of sorrow there was no sign.[2] Nor is there any uncertainty as to the consequences of the deed. Beaton's last recorded words expressed the truth: 'All was gone.' While a death-blow had been struck at the alliance of Scotland with France and the dependence of Scotland upon Rome, the blow fell with fuller force upon the Church system of which Beaton was an impressive and almost colossal representative. Under his régime, and indeed in his person, there had been a concentration of the abuses and offences committed by churchmen, and his remarkable talents, amounting almost to genius, had only served to make these more glaring. By skilful use of the national dislike for England, he had maintained the authority of Rome at a time when Rome was making no contribution to the religious well-being of Scotland. He himself, while unscrupulous in his diplomacy and disregarding the laws of morality in his private life, had in his primacy and diocese shown interest in religion mainly[3] in one direction—by silencing the voices which protested against abuses and trampling on the seeds of reformation. His success in this direction had been extraordinary. He forced his reluctant sovereign into persecution, and drove scholar after scholar, monk after monk, into other lands. Even in France, when the savageries of Merindol were at their height, Scottish exiles had more liberty than in their native land. No churchman of rank raised his voice in protest. Bishops and abbots, although resenting and resisting his personal ambitions, acquiesced in his policy.[1] He kept the Scottish Church, as a fabric and an institution, outside the Reformation movement and also outside the Counter-Reformation, which in many countries gave the Roman Church a new lease of life. Before he died, the time for counter-reformation in Scotland was past, or, at least, the spiritual materials out of which any such movement could arise were exhausted. In the fourteen years that were to pass before the authority and institutions of the papacy were formally repudiated by the nation, endeavours at reform were made repeatedly by churchmen, but they were all futile, as efforts to galvanize a worn-out man into permanent vitality. Beaton's successor in the primacy avowed a concern for Christianity and produced a creditable Catechism; but he was a degraded libertine with none of Beaton's steady statecraft, and he died upon the scaffold as a traitor to his country. Reforming Statutes which were published by Church Councils remained a dead-letter, serving only as a record of the deplorable plight into which the Church had fallen. There was no force left to bring them into action. 'All was gone'—gone before Knox had preached a single sermon—gone as the old Celtic Church had disappeared when confronted by Queen Margaret and her sons. The Roman and the Celtic Churches differed completely in organization and in spirit, and the influences, external and internal, to which they succumbed were totally unlike; but their fortunes in Scotland had this striking resemblance—each of them was allowed for four full centuries to work without a rival, and then, having made its contribution to the Christianizing of North Britain and the development of the Scottish nation, lost spring and spirituality by a process of inward decay, so that a single stroke sufficed to show that the malady was fatal.

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[1] bellowing.

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[1] Theiner, p. 618.

[2] The one voice in which there was a tone of pathos was that of the Regent, who only three years before had declared Beaton to be 'the man he did only hate in all the world,' whom he would 'set upon in his castle of St. Andrews.'—Sadleyr's letter of May 20, 1543.

[3] Some details of Beaton's episcopal administration are given in documents printed in *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 220 ff.

The stern repression of reforming tendencies by Beaton, and his maintenance of an inefficient priesthood in the name of the Catholic Church, had results which came to light as the cause progressed for which Wishart died. A strong dislike for the Church as a Church, and a belief that its institutions and distinctive doctrines were incapable of amendment, gained ground and begot the conviction that drastic changes were needed. This tendency was shown in the acceptance of those ideas of reformation to which the Swiss had given shape, as distinct from Lutheran and Anglican ideas. Patrick Hamilton was Lutheran to the core, and for some years after his death the continental connexions of the Reformers were with the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia. As late as 1540 they were generally known as 'Lutherians,' the differences among Protestants being dwarfed by a recognition of the unrivalled contribution of Luther to the Reformation movement. Soon after that date, however, they began to use the Swiss standards of faith and worship. Although Wishart was not an important theologian, it was in his career that the change became apparent and through his influence that it became effectual. At Bristol he was impeached for heresies with which no Lutheran was ever charged and, when he left England, he found refuge, not among Lutherans nor at Geneva—to Calvin and his writings Scotland owed nothing at this stage—but, as we have seen, at the headquarters of the Swiss Reformers. He took back with him to Scotland the First Helvetic Confession and the Zürich Communion-office, which marked a divergence from specifically Lutheran doctrines.[1] Before his death it was manifest that Scotland would take no share in the pathetic endeavours to embody medieval dogmas in a new system, in which Luther persisted till the close of his wonderful career.[2]

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[1] It is doubtful if at this stage any churchman above the rank of prior showed the slightest disposition to be tolerant.

A far more important difference was the separation from the English Reformers which the choice of the Swiss standards implied. Henry VIII was exceedingly anxious to propagate his mediating doctrines in Scotland, and for several years pressed his 'books of religion' upon the English party; but these books found no favour.[1] His ambassadors reported to him that they were 'much misliked,' as not being 'thorough' or searching. It must not be supposed that, either in this matter or in the detachment from Lutheran ideas, there was any formal decision or any controversy in Scotland. Compromise was felt, rather than judged, to be impossible. Instinctively men sought for and welcomed a basis on which they could offer steady resistance to a system which had become intolerable.

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[1] Wishart's translation of the First Helvetic Confession, although not published till 1548, was used in MS. four years earlier.

[2] Luther's death was within eleven days of Wishart's; Luther died on February 18, Wishart on March 1.

A similar but more specific result appeared in the views of worship and ceremonial which prevailed. An incisive critic of the Reformers[2] has pointed out that John Knox, who reached manhood in this period,[3] 'never knew the poetry and the mystic charm' which the 'ceremonies and services of the Roman Church naturally awaken.' The criticism is true, not of Knox only but of most Scotsmen of his time. There was neither 'poetry' nor 'mystic charm' for them to know. For two centuries church services in Scotland had tended to be slovenly, and priests to be irreverent, and latterly they had lost even the semblance of devoutness. The reverential quiet of worship and the graciousness of sacraments had been all but obliterated by unworthy and unfaithful priests. To be assured that such ordinances as had been supplied were not needed for salvation was a call to freedom not to sacrifice. So it was that a repudiation of those of the sacraments which had a medieval origin, and condemnation of a ritual which had been performed without dignity or piety, sprang naturally to the lips of the first Reformers.

If these facts reveal in embryo tendencies which in later centuries gave contentiousness to the religion and bareness to the worship of the nation, they were closely connected with an equally significant fact of better promise. The Reformers shaped and regulated their religious life without help from any authority. In England, king, parliament and privy council were industriously drafting statements of belief and devising rules for Church administration. Luther and Melanchthon were persuading Electors, princes and city magistrates to draw up laws for an evangelical Church. In Swiss cantons, town councils were passing enactments as to Communion observance and Church discipline. But in Scotland, to use one of Knox's phrases, '*the little flock began to set itself in order.*' This was not through choice, but of necessity. It was not done on principle nor after any agreed method. There were no conferences, or Church courts, or elections, or votings. Creeds and Communion-offices came into use, as in Apostolic and sub-Apostolic days. Congregations sprang, as it seems, from the ground, with ministers who came by invitation, and there were beginnings of Church discipline. All this, as we saw in the case of Dundee, is indistinct to the student of history. Yet it was real, growing, germinating; for it was a movement of people who were seeking to express and to extend their own beliefs; and the fact that as a rule they were people of no social or political importance gave it its significance and worth. The reading of the Bible in the vernacular and the belief in justification by faith, which were the mainsprings of the Reformation as a religious movement, made way in Scotland in face of repressive legislation and unsparing persecution; and the men to whom these became all-important set themselves, without any direction or civil sanction, to arrange and develop their own Church life. At the time when Calvin was struggling to secure from the Geneva magistrates a limited measure of self-government for the Reformed Church, the Scottish Reformers were, perforce, learning to exercise freedom, and the seed was being sown of the belief that Christian men, acting together as Christians, and they alone, are qualified under God to order the Church. The relation of the new Church to the old in the period which we have reached is well presented in the account of Wishart's preparation for martyrdom. When refused sacramental comfort in his last hour, he held converse with the prison warders about the Passion of Christ, and proceeded to distribute the Bread and the Wine. The Church had failed to dispense the spiritual gifts in her charge, and the people, setting aside Church law and tradition, laid hold for themselves of grace and truth.

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[1] In 1536 Luther and Melanchthon tried to reach a doctrinal agreement with Henry VIII; but the Wittenberg Articles were not liked in England.—Gairdner, *Lollardy*, ii. 316.

[2] Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, pp. 9-11.

[3] John Knox was probably born in 1515.

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